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THE

LIFE AND ACTS

OF

JOHN WHITGIFT, D.D.

THE THIRD AND LAST LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

IN THE REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

The whole digested, compiled, and attested from Records, Registers, original Letters, and other authentic MSS. taken from the choicest Libraries and Collections of the Kingdom.

TOGETHER WITH

A LARGE APPENDIX OF THE SAID PAPERS.

IN FOUR BOOKS.

BY JOHN STRYPE, M. A.

VOL. II.

OXFORD,

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS.

MDCCCXXII.

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THE CHAPTERS

OF THE

HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND ACTS

OF

ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

WITH THE CHIEF MATTERS CONTAINED IN EACH CHAPTER.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

THE Archbishop's proceedings with Popish recusants. Considerations about the liberty granted them. The Archbishop's dealings with the Puritan sort. They are prosecuted by the ecclesiastical commission; and in the Star-chamber. Articles, in number twenty, charged upon those in Warwick and Northampton. The Archbishop's information of divers matters of fact of these men. Anno 1590. P. 1.

CHAP. II.

Cartwright summoned before the ecclesiastical Commissioners. Articles against him. Refuseth to answer upon the oath *ex officio*. Committed to the Fleet. And under the Queen's displeasure. His letter to the Lord Treasurer thereupon. That Lord's advice to the Archbishop concerning Cartwright. Tracts by Morice and Dr. Cosin, for and against that oath. Other tracts of that argument. Some other Puritan Ministers brought before the commission: Hubbock, Kendal, Buccock. Their cases. P. 22.

CHAP. III.

Udal and Penry, two Puritans, condemned to die, for seditious books by them written. Demonstration of Discipline. Remonstrance to the Demonstration, in answer thereto. Danger of Puritanism. Penry's books: An Humble Motion. Dr.

Bancroft's Sermon; answered. An argument against Bishops' superiority, as dangerous to the Queen's safety. Managed by Mr. Treasurer Knollys; communicated to the Archbishop. A courtier publisheth a book in favour of Bishops. Knollys is checked by the Queen for meddling against the established government of the Church by Bishops. P. 37.

CHAP. IV.

Report of a Presbytery in St. John's college, Cambridge, examined. Dr. Whitaker, the Master, denies it to the Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor of the University consults with the Archbishop. Articles concerning Presbyteries and Classes to be disowned by those of St. John's: drawn up by the Archbishop. Dr. Whitaker vindicates himself from false reports. The Dean of Lincoln convented before the Archbishop, for words used in his sermon. The Archbishop's letter thereupon to the residentiaries. The Archbishop to the Bishops, to certify the Clergy's arms. Visitations. Public prayers appointed. P. 56.

CHAP. V.

Anno 1591. Cartwright and the rest come before the Lords in the Star-chamber. Some account of this appearance. Sir Francis Knollys will not be concerned. The Queen apprehends danger from Puritans as well as Papists. Cartwright appears before the High Commissioners. Account of what was then done. Speeches then made; of the Bishop of London, Dr. Bancroft, and Dr. Lewin, to him: with his answers. The effect of the principal matters in the bill of complaint against him and his fellows. P. 70.

CHAP. VI.

Further account of the Puritans' troubles in the Star-chamber. Information against them. The Attorney General's judgment of them. Two writings of the Archbishop against them, considered by a lawyer. Their petition to the Council, and to the Archbishop, for their liberty. Granted by him. A letter of some Doctors of the University to the Lord Treasurer, to favour peaceable preachers. Divers Puritans deposed. Cartwright's plea for their *classes*. A brief narrative of the proceedings with the Puritans in the Star-chamber. Divers interrogatories refused by them to answer unto. P. 81.

CHAP. VII.

The Archbishop appointed to send Divines to confer with Udal, &c. condemned for sedition. Udal makes a declaration of his judgment. Is pardoned. Troubles of Eusebius Pagitt. His moving letter to the Lord Admiral. Beza vindicates himself to the Archbishop in respect of this Church. The Archbishop to the Bishops, for catechising and confirming children. The Minister of the French Protestant Church in London applies himself to the Archbishop. Bishops consecrated. Visitations. A controversy between Mr. Broughton and Dr. Reynolds of Oxon. The Archbishop, umpire. His judgment of Broughton, and of his works. Makes an order for the hospitals of St. John and Herbaldown in Canterbury. P. 96.

CHAP. VIII.

The Archbishop requires a certificate concerning the Clergy from the Bishops. Anno 1592. Speeches in Parliament against and for the Bishops. Letters of Sir Francis Knollys on this argument. Lewin, the Civilian, his speech about Bishops' government in monarchies. This bill against them stopped, the Queen being displeased with the Parliament for meddling in matters of the Church. P. 120.

CHAP. IX.

Beal, Clerk of the Council, vindicates his doings in the Parliament against the Bishops. His letter to that end. A Convocation. Dr. Andrews preaches before them. Contents of his sermon. Address of Deans and Prebendaries of the new foundations, in behalf of their revenues. Visitation of the hospitals of Saltwood and Hith; and All Souls college, Oxon. A Bishop Suffragan of Colchester consecrated. Bishops confirmed and consecrated. Vacations of dioceses, and visitations of them. A copy of the Ecclesiastical Polity presented to the Lord Treasurer by the author, Mr. Hooker. The Archbishop concerned in a case between the Lord Sandes and his Lady. P. 129.

CHAP. X.

Recusants in the Archbishop's diocese. Directions from the Privy Council for making inquiry after them. Anno 1593. The Archbishop sends to the Bishops for contribution for Priests converted. *Survey of the pretended Discipline,* set forth by Dr. Bancroft. The Archbishop's excellent letter to Beza; expostulating with

him about his writings against this Church. Dr. Saravia and Dr. Sutcliff accused by Beza. Vindicated by the Archbishop. Beza's sharp words of Sutcliff considered by Saravia, and reproved. P. 150.

CHAP. XI.

Penry seized. His address to the Queen, with other writings of his: for which he was found guilty of felony: and condemned. His Declaration and Protestation before his death. His character. Barrow and Greenwood, for seditious books, condemned and executed. Conferred with. Their characters. Pardon offered them, but refused. Barrow's letter. The Archbishop reflected on therein. Barrow's dangerous principles concerning this Church. A benefit done to the University of Cambridge by the Archbishop. Their epistle gratulatory to him. P. 175.

CHAP. XII.

Anno 1594. Commission to the Archbishop to survey all ecclesiastical courts and their officers. His letter to the Bishops for that end. Articles sent them for inquiry. The Archbishop stirs against new books of concealments. His letter to the Lord Keeper. Mr. Hooker sets forth his Ecclesiastical Polity. Benefices conferred upon him by the Archbishop. Saravia sets forth a book in defence of the order of Bishops; dedicated to the Archbishop. Saravia's character. Dr. Robert Abbot dedicates to the Archbishop his account of a disputation with a Popish Priest in Worcester. P. 193.

CHAP. XIII.

Several vacant sees supplied; *viz.* York, St. David's, London, (Fletcher, the Bishop thereof, falls under the Queen's displeasure, suspended,) Norwich, Landaff. The Queen's farmers refuse to contribute towards the repair of a parish church. The Archbishop's letter thereupon. Hugh Broughton's contest with the Archbishop about the article of Christ's Descent into Hell. P. 213.

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1595. Mr. Broughton fails of preferment; notwithstanding his taking Orders by the Archbishop's advice. Is displeased. He is about a new translation of the Bible. Whereof he acquaints the Lord Treasurer and the Archbishop. Cartwright at Guernsey. The Predestinarian controversy arises; occasioned by a determination in the Schools, and by a *Clerum* at St. Mary's,

Cambridge. The points asserted there. Baret, the preacher thereof, retracts. Appeals to the Archbishop. The Archbishop writes in his behalf to the Heads: and blames them. Dr. Saravia's judgment of the doctrines asserted in the Retractation. P. 222.

CHAP. XV.

Baret's petitions to the Archbishop, to declare the true doctrine in these points. The Heads decline the Archbishop's judging of Baret's business. Justify their own proceedings. Their letter to the Archbishop. The true doctrine stated by them, in a paper sent to the Archbishop. The Archbishop's second letter to the Heads. Sends for Dr. Somes, about a sermon of his. His letter on that occasion to the Heads. The Heads' third letter to the Archbishop. And Dr. Whitaker's to him in favour of the Heads. The Archbishop acquaints the Lord Treasurer of the matter between the Heads and him. Their petitions to the Archbishop to take order that no doctrines be vented tending to innovation. And their reasons. P. 243.

CHAP. XVI.

Baret examined upon articles of doctrine, by the Archbishop's order. His answers. Whitaker's animadversions thereupon; and the Heads, in a letter to the Archbishop. The Archbishop gives his judgment of both. His resolution about these matters. Baret's second examination at Lambeth. His confession. A favourable retractation for him to make at Cambridge. Which he delays to do. The Archbishop draws up a recapitulation of Baret's business. P. 262.

CHAP. XVII.

Whitaker's *Clerum* about the controverted points. The Lambeth Articles. The Archbishop of York's judgment of them. The Archbishop's letter to the University for submission to them. Their answer and thanks. His further private instructions to the Vice-Chancellor, upon these propositions coming to the Queen's knowledge. Her letter to the Archbishop about them. The Lord Treasurer's thoughts of them. The Heads offended with Dr. Baro for his *Clerum* on these points. Whereupon he writes to the Archbishop. Account of Baro given the Archbi-

shop by the Vice-Chancellor. The Archbishop's directions to the Vice-Chancellor. P. 278.

CHAP. XVIII.

The process in the Vice-Chancellor's Court against Dr. Baro. His apology for himself to the Treasurer. Who takes his part, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor. Baro writes to Dr. Andrews at Lambeth; and to the Archbishop, concerning the matter charged upon him. Appeals to him: who continues him in his place. His letter of thanks to the Archbishop. The Archbishop of York sends him a treatise of Predestination to print. The Archbishop of Canterbury inquires of him about Preachers in the north, and other matters. That Archbishop's answer; and his opinions of the Lambeth Propositions. P. 297.

CHAP. XIX.

Dr. Whitaker dies. The Archbishop's esteem of him. Desires his notes and writings. The Vice-Chancellor's letter to him about Whitaker's death. His places vacant; filled. Overal chosen Public Professor. The Archbishop's doubt of him, as factious. His opinion of the Propositions. The Archbishop sends for Covel, for preaching an offensive sermon at St. Mary's. The Archbishop agrees with Broughton about the *descent of Christ into hell.* His relation to the Archbishop about what passed him at Geneva, with Beza and others. The reasons they were displeased with him. The Archbishop's foundation of his hospital at Croydon. The poor of the hospital at Herbaldown petition him. The Archbishop's care of the poor of Kent upon a dearth. *Confirmations* and *consecrations* of Bishops. P. 315.

CHAP. XX.

Anno 1596. The Archbishop sends two circular letters to the Bishops; one for redemption of captives; the other for fasting and prayer, by reason of a dearth. Philips, Preacher at St. Mary Overy's, suspended. Orders made by the Archbishop, &c. for the commons of the Students of Christ Church, Oxon. Some Puritan Ministers pretend to cast out devils. Darrel, one of them, brought before the Archbishop and Commissioners. His story: imprisoned and deposed. Confirmations and consecrations of Bishops. Bishop Bilson; his writings. One Gerard recom-

mended for Chester. Lands concealed belonging to Eastbridge hospital discovered to the Archbishop. A letter of foreign news sent to the Archbishop by Castoll, French Minister.
P. 334.

CHAP. XXI.

Mr. Broughton takes offence at the Archbishop, for hindering his preferment, and his intended new translation of the Bible. Challenges Dr. Andrews to a disputation about the *descent*. Bishop Bilson, by the Archbishop's advice, preaches against Christ's suffering of hell-torments. The occasion of printing his discourse. The various opinions concerning the *descent*, drawn up for the use of the Lord Treasurer. Broughton represents the Church of England's sense thereof against a Jew; which was, that Christ's *descent* was his going to paradise. Anno 1597.
P. 355.

CHAP. XXII.

The condition of the Roman Catholics. Mr. George More's letter concerning them: and his motion for a toleration of them. Some notable sentences collected by the Archbishop, concerning war and peace with Spain. The Archbishop recommends one for knight of the shire for Kent. Bills and complaints brought into Parliament against abuses in the spiritual courts: as, licences for marriages: probat of wills: excessive fees. The Queen's message to the House hereupon. Regulation of matters ecclesiastical. Orders of Convocation. Visitation of the church of Canterbury. P. 367.

CHAP. XXIII.

Consecration of Dr. Bancroft for Bishop of London. The great character given of him by the Archbishop, and of his services. Mr. Broughton disappointed of this bishopric; angry with the Archbishop again. The great dilapidations of St. Paul's, and the Bishop's houses. Other Bishops translated and confirmed. Mr. Hooker's fifth book of Ecclesiastical Polity comes forth. Some things of note in his dedication thereof to the Archbishop.
P. 385.

CHAP. XXIV.

Disciplinarian heats abate by the Archbishop's labours. The ecclesiastical commission checked by *prohibitions*. Reasons drawn up against them. The Archbishop writes to the Bishops Anno 1598.

about abuses in marriages: and to send up the names of all such as took holy Orders; and of such as stood excommunicate. Admonition sent to the Archbishop's Courts about absolving recusants excommunicate. Letters of the Archbishop for charitable contributions. *Confirmations* and *consecrations* of Bishops. P. 395.

CHAP. XXV.

Anno 1599. A Rabbi of Constantinople writes to Broughton, to explain the old prophecies, as fulfilled in our Messiah. Broughton urgeth the Archbishop and the nobility, in several letters, to get him authorized by the Queen to undertake that work. Blames their delays. The sabbatarian doctrine checked by the Archbishop. Requires of the Bishops certificates of their court-fees. His hospital at Croydon finished. The chapel dedicated and consecrated. The Archbishop's purchases. Heton, Bishop of Ely, consecrated. Some account of him. A licence of the Archbishop to teach school. The Archbishop hinders the mustering of singing-men belonging to his cathedral. P. 406.

CHAP. XXVI.

Anno 1600. The Archbishop's courts disturbed by *prohibitions*. Divers *prohibitions* specified. Queries about them offered to the Lords by the Bishops. A letter of Bancroft, when Archbishop, in behalf of the Civilians, injured by the temporal Judges. Some business between the Archbishop and the University of Cambridge. Remarkable books now set forth; dedicated to the Archbishop: Stow's Annals; Dr. Willet's *Synopsis Papismi*. The Archbishop makes search for Mr. Hooker's three last books. New Offices of Prayer. P. 427.

CHAP. XXVII.

Anno 1601. The Archbishop's letter, requiring the Bishops, with the rest of the Clergy, to send light horse, upon the Pope's and Spaniard's invading Ireland. A Parliament. Bills put in there against Bishops' leases; and against pluralities and nonresidences; and against Commissaries' frequent courts. A Convocation: what was done there. The Archbishop's letters to the Bishops concerning their courts, &c. Complained much of in Parliament. The abuses, under several articles, the Archbishop requires the Bishops to redress, according to former constitutions. P. 441.

CHAP. XXVIII.

Punishments for clandestine marriages, and absolutions granted by the Archbishop. The Archbishop granteth licences for killing of flesh in Lent, in his liberties in Canterbury. Writes to his Steward about the abuses of them. Confirmations and consecrations of Bishops. The Archbishop informed of an ignorant empiric and astrologer at Lambeth. Writes to the College of Physicians about him. His licence to build a place of sepulture; and for the appropriating it to the family. Thomas Cartwright alive, and quiet. P. 453.

CHAP. XXIX.

Controversy between the Archbishop and Mayor of Canterbury about licences to butchers in Lent. Lands of the late priory of Dover lying in Charleton, belonging to the Archbishop's see. The Archbishop visits All Souls college. The Queen dies. The manner of her sickness and death. The Archbishop and some other Bishops present with her, and assist at her last devotions. Some account thereof related at St. Paul's the Sunday after her death. The Archbishop crowneth King James and Queen Anne. P. 460. Anno 1602.

CHAP. XXX.

The Archbishop sends Dr. Nevill into Scotland, to wait upon the new King. His inquiry of the Archbishop concerning the state of religion and of the Clergy. The Archbishop writes to the Bishops hereupon, for special reason. The King inquires after recusants. Upon the Privy Council's letter, the Archbishop sends order to the Bishops for keeping the 5th of August, the day of the King's deliverance from an assassination. And upon the King's letters he writes to them for a collection to be made for Geneva, besieged by the Duke of Savoy. How well that city had deserved for maintaining the Gospel, and harbouring the professors of it. P. 469. Anno 1603.

CHAP. XXXI.

The Puritans' diligence with the new King by books and petitions. Henry Jacob's book. The Archbishop's endeavours with the King, in favour of the Church of England. The King's letter to him. These things produce a solemn conference before the King. His proclamation for the same. The Archbishop of York to our Archbishop hereupon. An account of what the

Archbishop said at the conference. Letter of the Bishop of Durham to the Archbishop of York after the conference. The King's private letter concerning it. A note of such things as were to be reformed by his order upon this conference. P. 478.

CHAP. XXXII.

Commissions to the Archbishop and other Bishops, and to certain Lords of the Privy Council, for regulation of matters of the Church; pursuant to the conference. The Archbishop falls sick. His disease. His Christian departure. His character. Buried at Croydon. Traduced by a libel. The author of it censured in the Star-chamber. His monument. Epitaphs. Two new Bishops consecrated. His gifts. Books in manuscript given to Trinity college. P. 502.

CHAP. XXXIII.

Anno 1604. The King sets forth two proclamations in favour of the Church of England; *viz.* one against Papists, and the other against such as refused the Liturgy. And therein is shewn what was done about it at the conference. The Council's letter to the Archbishop of York. And his to the Lord Cranborn, concerning the Puritans and Papists. A Convocation summoned. A new translation of the Bible in hand with; being one of the things resolved upon at the conference. The Archbishop's fears about it. The King's letter to the Bishop of London, giving orders for it. That Bishop's letter to the Bishops thereupon. Measures to be taken for the translators. The conclusion. P. 519.

THE LIFE AND ACTS OF ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. I.

The Archbishop's proceedings with Popish recusants. Considerations about the liberty granted to them. The Archbishop's dealings with the Puritan sort. They are prosecuted in the ecclesiastical commission: and in the Star-chamber. Articles, in number twenty, charged upon those of Warwick and Northampton. The Archbishop's information of divers matters of fact of these men. The Archbishop takes notice of Cartwright's answer to the Preface of the Rhemists' Testament.

IT was now the thirty-second year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the Archbishop was arrived to the sixtieth year of his age: and had sat in the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury seven years; all which time almost, with great solicitude and pain, struggling with the enemies of the established Church, of both sorts. And had by this time gotten the better of them, though he was still in combat with them: proceeding steadily forward, as he had already done, to keep the Church of England on foot, according to the first constitution of it in the happy Reformation.

Anno 1590. The Archbishop arrived to his sixtieth year.

BOOK IV. Which I shall go on to shew, according as matter hath occurred to me from authentic records and papers.

Anno 1590. 326 Proceedings of the Archbishop in commission against recusants.

There was now again great apprehensions of Popery, by reason of the flocking of Seminary Priests into the realm, notwithstanding the executions lately done upon several of them. Which occasioned this year a proclamation to be set forth against such as should harbour them. A great many Popish recusants which were taken up, were convented before the Archbishop and Commissioners at Lambeth, since Michaelmas, being of divers countries and places in England. A brief account of what was done with them is as followeth, according to a certificate sent from the ecclesiastical commission to the Lord Treasurer.

Certificates thereof sent up. Their names.

"Several being convented, submitted to go to church, and "receive. One Welman, of Chich S. Osiths, in Essex, "took his corporal oath to come orderly to church, where- "of he afterwards certified accordingly. And some were "bound to appear, and appeared not: whose bonds were "decreed to be certified, [in order to be put in execution.] "Henry Foster was committed to the Counter in Wood "street: enlarged again: and committed to the custody "of his father, upon sufficient bands given by his father, "to keep him safe prisoner. That he shall be forthcom- "ing: upon warning, not to depart the realm, and for "conference." This was the moderate course taken with the recusants at this time.

Further, "John Halsey, of London, physician; com- "mitted to the Fleet: and after, upon his band in 500*l.* "to remain true prisoner in his chamber in London; and "for his allegiance, was enlarged out of the Fleet, to the "end to confer with the Bishop of Winton.

"William Ashburnham, of Ashburnham in Sussex, "committed to the Marshalsea.

"John Hil, of Hil-End, in the county of Wigorn, called, "but appeared not. And his band decreed to be certified.

"John Mannock, of Naylond, in the county of Suffolk, "Gentleman, committed to the Clink; was afterwards en-

"larged, upon the death of his father, for a time; upon "band to appear again at a certain time; and for his good "behaviour and conference. But he appeared not accord- Anno 1590. "ingly. And therefore his band was decreed to be certi- "fied; and an attachment against him.

"Giles Mannock, likewise of the same place, was com- "mitted, and enlarged for a time. And is since returned "to prison.

"John Gifford, Gentleman, committed prisoner to Mr. "Ernely, with special commandment to keep him safe; "and discharge the trust reposed in him.

"Anne Lee, wife of Richard Lee, of —— in Warwick- "shire; bound to confer with Mr. Heycroft, the preacher "there. Who certified, that she would not be conformed. "And thereupon an attachment decreed against her.

"Robert Fitz-Herbert, son of John Fitz-Herbert, of So- "mersale Herbert in Derbyshire, Gentleman, upon his "father's band, to resort to church, was discharged.

"Nicolas Chaplain, of Sanfordparva, Essex, upon his "appearance submitted himself; and entered band for the "continuance of his conformity in coming to church. "Whereof he afterward certified."

To which I will subjoin a consultation, upon the foresaid information and certificates, for the securing of the realm at this time, when the Spaniards and other Popish potentates promised themselves help, in their resolved attempts upon this land, from the Roman Catholics here. They seemed to be the thoughts of the Lord Treasurer Burghley; the paper being writ by the hand of Mr. Maynard, one of his secretaries: and bore this title:

A consideration to be had, to withstand the dangers to grow by sufferance of a multitude of recusants, to be at liberty.

Considerations for security against recusants at this dangerous time.

"First, The numbers are greater than be certainly "known. And yet upon the view of the certificates of the "late Commissioners for Jesuits, there may be gathered "some estimation of them in every country: and espe-

BOOK IV. Anno 1590.

" cially such to be noted as have livelihood and credits in " their countries, both with their neighbours and their te- " nants.

327 " The number of such as of late years were restrained, " being men of possessions, are not above ——, who were " fit to be newly restrained. And yet with signification " unto them, that the same is not to be done so much for " doubt of any disloyal attempts by themselves, as to no- " tify to the rebels and enemies abroad, that whatsoever " outward and inward trouble the enemy or the rebels " would hope to stir up within the realm, they are not to " look nor hope to have any assistance by those which " shall be committed. As it is very well known, that the " rebels ordinarily do labour to persuade the enemy to " have such assistance.

" Besides the commitment of these, there would be " choice made of others of like quality in remote parts of " the realm: but especially in maritime countries. Who " may be stayed in their countries, and committed to cus- " todies in castles, or such other places; where they may " be restrained of their liberties. And to that end, com- " missions might be given in the north, to the Lord Pre- " sident and Council there. And in Lancashire and Che- " shire, to the Earl of Derby; and in Wales, to the Lord " President and Council there: to make choice of such " persons and places as shall be thought, upon direction " given, to be meet.

" *Item*, It shall be convenient, that in other countries, " especially the maritime, that the mean sort of recusants " being obstinate, and of bodily ability to do hurt, might " be committed to the custody of the Sheriffs, with condi- " tion to be sustained of their own livelihood.

" *Item*, It were convenient, that no notable recusant " should be suffered to continue near the sea-side. But " either to be commanded to some inward habitation " within the country: and to be bound with sureties not " to depart thence without necessary cause, to be allowed " by two Justices of the peace next adjoining. Or if they

" will refuse these conditions, to be committed into gaol " for the summer time.

" *Item*, Where there be many men's wives that be re- Anno 1590.
" cusants, although their husbands resort to the church, " and thereby avoid the penalty of the law: the wives " would be indicted and condemned, and committed ei- " ther to prison, or the penalty levied upon their hus- " bands' lands and goods. For though the husband will " allege, that he cannot convert his wife to obedience; yet " he may yield her to imprisonment, or redeem her liberty " with penalty.

" That the arms of the recusants may be sequestered, " to the custody of some of the Justices." But now we turn to the other sort of disaffected persons to this Church.

Ministers of the new discipline in Northampton, Warwick, &c. summoned up to the ecclesiastical commission.

The Archbishop was very busy this year, as soon as the Parliament was over, more effectually to deal with that sort of the Puritans, who had laboured so much to bring in the new discipline, and to abolish the whole settlement of the Church of England, both in the Liturgy and government thereof. And had of their own heads, (without leave or knowledge of the temporal rulers,) set up a different manner of government of their own, for ecclesiastical matters. And many Ministers, even incumbents of livings, had submitted thereunto, and were parts of their synods and meetings, privately convented; and especially in Northampton and Warwick: where Mr. Cartwright was the chief president and orderer of affairs among them. Several of these Ministers, in these towns and counties, were summoned up to the commission ecclesiastical: and divers articles were administered there to them, to give in their answers to. Which they refused to do, though it was manifest, by letters and other writings which were found and taken in their houses, that they were culpable in the most of them. As namely, in that of holding *classes* and synods: and in subscribing to their book of discipline; and putting the same into practice. And these were the articles, (which will let in further knowledge of these Disciplinarians and their assemblies,) sent by the Archbi-

BOOK IV.

shop to the Lord Treasurer, inclosed in a letter to him, dated July the 16th, 1590, from Lambeth, *viz.*

Anno 1590.

328 Articles wherewith they were charged.

1. First, They have agreed upon, and appointed amongst themselves, certayne general meetings, which they call *synods;* and others more particular in several shiers, in dioceses, which they call *classes.*

2. *Item*, Some of the especial places, so appoynted for the synods, are London, Cambridge at tymes of Commencement, and Sturbridge fayre, and Oxforde at the Act. Because at these tymes and places they may assemble with least suspicion.

3. *Item*, In the said synods, those there assembled treat and determine of such matters as are eyther propounded anew, or have been debated before in the *classes*, as fyt to be considered on, and provided for. And likewise what course shall be holden by the Ministers in theyr several places. Which being concluded upon by the synod, it is holden *autentical*, and is decreed to be put accordingly in execution.

4. *Item*, In the *classis*, being a more particular assemblie of certeyne Ministers in several shiers, or dioceses, (according to the appoyntment of the general synods,) meeting in some private place, for the most part, after a prayer there conceaved, and a sermon or exercise made; it is signifyed to some that were present, what hath been determined in the last synod. And then they do deliberate, as wel for the better execution thereof, as also what further points they think convenient to be presented to the consideration of the next synod.

5. *Item*, According to this platt, sondrie, or at least one such synod or synods, have been holden, at every or some of the said places and tymes afore specifyed: and namely, at or about Sturbridge fayre tyme last at Cambridge.

6. *Item*, At al, or some of such synods, there have met and bene assembled, Dr. Whitakers, Mr. Cartwright, Knewstubbs, Travers, Charke, Egerton, Greneham, Ward, Fludd, Chatterton, Perkins, Dike, Snape, and others, or some of them.

7. *Item*, At some of the said synods it hath bene debated, concluded, agreed on, and determined, by al or most voices, That *such as cannot preach are no Ministers: that the sacraments ought not to be receaved at their hands: that al one kind of doctrin must be preached by those that favour that cause, touching the erecting or establishing the government. That every Minister in his charge should, by al holy and lawful means, endeavour to bring in and establish that government.* That *an oath whereby a man might be tyed to reveal any thing which may be penal to himself, or his faithful brethren, is against charitie; and needs not or ought not to be taken; or to like effect; or something tending that way;* with sundry other poynts.

8. *Item*, The determinations made in synod have been published and signified in sundrie of the assemblies, called *classes:* and by them consented unto, to be put in execution. Namelie, a *classis* hath been holden at the Bull in Northampton; in Mr. Sharpe's house, Minister of Fawseley; and in Mr. Snape's chamber; and in every or some of them: where the same decrees, or articles, and others, have been published, and made known, to be executed.

9. *Item*, The Ministers in Northamptonshire, (who especiallie do assemble themselves at such *classes*, and namely, were present at the foresaid *classis*,) are Mr. Snape; Stone, Minister of Wharton[a]; Edwardes, of Courtnoll; Spicer, of Cooknoe; Atkins, of Higham; Fletcher, of Abington; Lark, of Willingborough; Prowdeloe, of Weeden; Kinge, of Coleworthe; Barebone and others; or some of them.

[a] Warkton.

10. *Item*, Mr. Snape, declaring upon a time his issue of dealing at Oxford, about the cominge of Mr. Favoure the elder, he declared this or the like forme of words, to no less effect; *viz.* he shewed, that in their *classes*, which they have in this shier of Northampton, (as they have in most places of the land beside,) they had concluded generally, that *the dumbe ministrie should be taught to be no ministrie at all.*

11. *Item*, He, the said Snape, then declared, that in the

BOOK IV. Anno 1590.

same *classes* they had agreed upon this poynte, that they should joyntlie, in their several charges and congregations, teach al one kind of doctrine, tending to the erecting of the government.

12. *Item*, He declared in these or the like words: "How "say you, (sayde he,) if wee devyse a way whereby to "shake off al the Anti-christian yoke and government of
329 "the Bishops, and will joyntlie together erect the disci- "pline and government all in one day. But peradventure "it will not be yet this year and this half."

13. *Item*, That they would do these thinges in such sort, by these theyr *classes*, that by the grace of God they (*viz.* the Bishops) should never be able to prevayle against it.

14. *Item*, Upon the First of Peter, the vth, he declared, that in the Church of God there ought not to be any government by Lord Bishops; but that there ought to be a Christian equality among the Ministers of God: nor the Ministers of the word should go with their trowps and traynes, as their maner is at these days.

15. *Item*, That the discipline of the Church is of an absolute necessitie to the Church. And that the Church ought of necessitie to be governed by Pastors, Doctors, Elders, Deacons, and Widdowes. Which he declared out of these wordes of Peter, *The Elders which are among you*, &c.

16. *Item*, That here one, and there one, picked out of the prophane and wicked multitude, and put aparte to serve the Lord, maketh the Church of God; and not the general multitude; out of these words of Peter, *But you are a chosen generation.*

17. *Item*, That as nothing maketh a separation between man and wife but whoredome; so whatsoever being devised by the brayne of man, and is brought into the Church, to be used in the outward worship and service of God, (seem it never so good and godlie, never so holie,) it is spiritual whoredome, [proved] out of the seconde Commandment.

18. *Item*, Mr. Snape being demaunded, how a man could be a Minister of God, that stoode onely by the authoritie of man, in respect of his outward calling, and fell at his commandment; answered, that he had bene in such a perplexitie himself, that rather than he would have stood by the vertue of any letters of Orders, he would have been hanged upon the gallowes.

19. *Item*, That Mr. Snape hath at sundrie tymes, or once at the least, in the hearing of others, declared, that, before it were longe, it should be seen that they would have this government, by Doctors, Pastors, Elders, and Widdows; and that indeed al, or some of the said Ministers before articulated, have begun in their several cures to erect them, or some part of them.

20. *Item*, Let the paper (which is a coppy of a certain wryting, supposed to have bene set down by him, the said Snape) be shewed unto him; and let him upon his oath declare, whether he doth not know or believe that the same is a true coppy of a writing set down under his own hande, or no?

Other articles exhibited.

1. Edmond Snape either heard of or feared a search to have been intended for books not authorized: and thereupon he caused to be caried divers sorts of such books to one George Bevis, a tanner; desiring him to lay them up in some secret place. Who bestowed them thereupon in his back-house. And afterwards the saide Snape fetched away agayne the sayd bookes, or most of them: but left twenty-five, or thereabouts, of the bookes, (called, *A Defence of the Ecclesiastical Discipline*,) in 4to. against Mr. Bridges, with the sayd Bevis, and desired him to sell them after 14*d.* or 16*d.* And they, or some of them, were by him, the said Bevis, accordingly solde.

2. *Item*, Christopher Hodgekinson obteyned a promise of the sayd Snape, that he would baptize his child. But Snape added, saying, "You must then give it a Christian "name, allowed in the Scriptures." Then Hodgekinson told

BOOK IV. Anno 1590.

him, that his wife's father, whose name was Richard, desired to have the giving of that name. Well, said Snape, you must do as I bid you, lest, when you come, the congregation be troubled. Notwithstanding, Hodgekinson, thinking it would not have been made a matter of such importance, caused the child to be brought to St. Peters, and Snape proceeded in th'action, (though not according to the Book of Common Prayer by law established,) until he came to the nameing of the child. But hearing them call-
330 ing it Richard, and that they would not give it any other name, he stayed there, and would not in any case baptize the child. And so it was caried away thence, and was baptized the week following at Allhallows churche, and called Richarde.

3. *Item*, The said Snape, being, or pretending to be, Curate of St. Peters in Northampton, doth not, in his ministration, read the Confession, Absolution, Psalmes, Lessons, Littanie, Epistle, Gospel: administreth the sacraments of Baptisme and the Supper, maryeth, burieth, churcheth, or giveth thankes for women after child-birth, visiteth the sicke, nor perfourmeth other parts of his dutye at al, or at least not according to the forme prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer authorized: but in some changeth, some parts omitteth, and in others addeth, choppeth, and mingleth it with other prayers and speeches of his own, &c. as it pleaseth his own humour.

4. *Item*, Sondrie Ministers, who mett in one or moe synods, assembled within a year and an half last past, and lesse, concluded and decreed, that every man in his several charge, should endeavour to erect a government of *Pastors*, *governing Elders*, and *Deacons*. That they should teach and hold, that al Ministers, who are called according to the order of the Church of England, to be an unlawful, or have an unlawful calling. And that such already being Ministers, as stand effected wel unto their courses, and whom they dare trust, should be induced to renounce their former calling by Bishops; and to take a new approbation by them in their *classes;* being an assemblie of

sondrie Ministers within a certayne compasse in a shyer, and whereof they have about iiii. in a shyer, or so many as convenientlie may be. And that this is the Lords ordinaunce, whereby onely they must stand in their ministrie. And that the like approbation shal be used in those that were not Ministers before. And that after such calling, they that were not Ministers before may preach until they be called to some certayne charge. At what tyme, if the people of such place call them, then are they to be holden ful Ministers, and may minister the sacramentes. Nevertheless it is permitted, that they shal go to the Bishop for writings, (for their safe standing in their calling,) as unto a civil magistrate in a matter belonging onely to the outward man, and none otherwise. For they holde, that thereby he receaveth not any power to be a Minister: or to like effect hath it bene concluded, or is practised among them.

5. *Item*, In sondrie places of this realme, such their determinations have bene and are put in use and practice: namely, in Northamptonshier, in Essex, Suffolke, Norfolke, Warwickshier, Devonshier, Cornwall, &c.

6. *Item*, The said Snape renounced, or would not stand in his ministrie by the calling of the Bishops: and was ageyne (as afore) allowed or called by the *classis:* but would not thereupon administer the Lord's Supper. But afterwards the parish of St. Peters aforesayd, or some of them, knowing that by reason of such determination he might not accompte himself a ful Minister, until some particular congregation had chosen him, they did thereupon choose him for theyr Minister. And by that calling, and as afore, doth he stand in his ministrie at this present, and not by the calling of the Bishop.

7. *Item*, One Larke, not far from Wellingboroughe, in the sayd shier, being not afore a Minister according to the Church of England, had the approbation of the sayd Snape, and others of a *classis*, upon tryal made of him. And then was by them willed for his safe standing to go to a Bishop (as to a civil magistrate onely) for writings.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590.

8. *Item*, According to the usual plat, concluded on in that behalf, one Hocknell, having bene, six or seven years afore, a Minister, being to have a benefice, was willing to bring some testimonial from the Ministers of the sayd shyer for his sufficiency and conversation, (because most patrons, that eyther themselves be so affected, or have friends so bent, have bene dealt with to such like effect.) Whereupon he coming to the said Snape, was willed to renounce his first calling, and not to stand by the Bishops calling into the ministrie. And had to that purpose by him, and his companions of the *classis*, a text given, and a day prefixed to preach upon it. Which was by Hocknell
331 perfourmed before the *classis* and others at St. Peters aforesayd. After which sermon, the *classis* alone being assembled, Hocknell was willed to stand aloofe. Then Penrie began to make a speech, and to exhort them to be carfull to cal upon God, and to deale without affection in this action, &c. After which they fel to consultation. Some liked that he should be admitted, and others misliked; both because he had not delyvered the *metaphor* which was in his text, and because he was no Grecian nor Hebrician. Who overweighing the rest, Hocknell was called for, and in some sort commended. But the speaker of the *classis* told him, he must take more paynes at his book before they would allow of him as a fit Minister. Whereupon Hocknell fel out with them, and contemning their censure, did proceed, and took possession of his benefice.

The Puritans' doings brought into question.

The doings at these synods and *classes*, and all their past misdemeanors and illegal practices, came to a reckoning this year before the ecclesiastical commission, and in the Star-chamber afterwards, by the means of the Archbishop, (in a great measure,) as well as of many other wise men, that saw whither these doctrines and practices tended; namely, to the infringing the Queen's royal power, to the overthrowing of all the laws made for the establishment of this reformed Church; for the abolishing of episcopacy, and for taking away the Bishops' revenues, and of

the rest of the dignified Clergy's incomes, settled in the cathedral churches: and all this to be brought about by a strong hand, to the endangering of the Queen's safety, and the peace of her kingdoms. Of the proceedings with the chief Puritan Ministers, and of their *classes*, and the affairs there transacted by them, I shall be able to give a just and full relation, from several of the Archbishop's own papers; and particularly from a collection of them, still preserved in the hands of a gentleman in Kent, communicated kindly to me by a reverend person. The chief Ministers among them that fell into troubles at this time, were Cartwright, Egerton, Fen, Wight, Farmer, Lord, Snape, Rushbroke, Wiggins, Littleton, Field, Lloyd, Paine, &c. Anno 1590.

And first, I begin with an account of divers matters of fact, (besides what hath been mentioned before.) And that from an authentic paper, entitled, *Proceedings of certain unlawful Ministers, tending to innovation and stirrs.* This I conclude was drawn up by the Archbishop himself, or by his special instruction; being of his secretary's writing.

Their proceedings to innovations and stirs. Ep. to the Demonstrat.

"First, They have sought a long time, as themselves "speak, to advance their discipline, by suit to Parliament; "by supplications to Convocations; by writing in defence "of it; and challenging to dispute for it. But by none of "these means have prevailed.

Book of Discipline.

"Secondly, They have, within these few years past, "penned in Latin a book of Discipline; partly termed "*holy*, partly *synodical; viz.* a platform of new officers "and ordinances for ecclesiastical government in this "Church of England.

"Thirdly, In this book the Christian Prince's supreme "authority in church causes is not once moved; but is "conveyed over to certain assemblies of Ministers and "Elders.

"Fourthly, To this book many Ministers have sub-"scribed, according to a set form of certain articles in "writing. And it is very probable that most of the Min-

BOOK IV.

"isters of this realm (that are factiously affected) have "done the like.

Anno 1590. "Fifthly, The form of their subscription containeth an "approbation of that book, to be agreeable to God's word. "One part whereof to be *discipline*, essential and neces- "sary for all times. And the other part, termed *synod-* "*ical*, to have been gathered out of the synods, and use of "the churches: that is, that which they desire to have "established. And they there promise, by suit to the "Council and Parliament, and by all other lawful and con- "venient means, to further and advance it: and to guide "themselves, and to be guided by it, and according to it. "That in preaching they will follow such order as is set
332 "down by that book. And lastly, they promise to follow "that order set down in the chapters of the *meetings;* so "far as it concerneth Ministers of the word, *viz.* to meet "every six weeks in classical conferences: in provincial "meetings every half year: and in general assemblies "every year: and at Parliaments: and as often as it shall "be thought good to be assembled.

"Sixthly, These their promises they have since ob- "served. For they have not ceased in their sermons to "deprave the present, and to advance their own devised "form of church government. Likewise, they have kept "such classical, provincial, and general assemblies, by the "space now of four, or more, years.

"Seventhly, In these assemblies they have debated and "decreed sundry points: *viz.* for sending of certain to "such assemblies: for sending two in a shire to offer dis- "putations at times of Parliament: for contributions unto "those that are sent. And they have determined and re- "solved, that private baptism is unlawful: that it is not "lawful to read homilies in the church: that the sign of "the cross in baptism may not be used: that the faithful "ought not to communicate with unlearned Ministers; "although they be presently at their service, if they come "of purpose to hear a sermon: that *hierarchy*, that is, all

" superior authority in Church matters, as of Bishops, " Archdeacons, &c. is unlawful: that albeit civil titles " (given to them by the Prince) may be used, and their Anno 1590. " exercising of temporal authority, or ecclesiastical au- " thority temporally, (as by fine or imprisonment,) may be " obeyed; yet, if they exercise ecclesiastical authority ec- " clesiastically, as by suspension, deprivation, deposing " men the ministry, or excommunication, they are not to " be obeyed; nor any duty given to them: that men are " not to rest in deprivation by Bishops, but to continue " their ministry till they be compelled to the contrary by " civil force. That it is not lawful to be ordained Min- " isters by Bishops, nor to denounce suspension nor ex- " communication sent from them; nor to appear in their " courts, but with protestation of their unlawfulness: that " Bishops (being [not] Doctors, Elders, nor Deacons) have " no ordinary nor lawful function in the Church: that this " discipline by them framed is to be taught to the people " upon every occasion. That as yet the people are not to " be solicited publicly to the practice of this discipline, " until they be better instructed in the knowledge of it: " that such as be of the riper or forwarder sort are pri- " vately to be allowed to the present embracing and exer- " cise of it, as far as they shall be well able, with the " peace of the Church.

" Eighthly, There are found, among some of their hid- " den papers, six very seditious questions, tending to the " annulling of a Christian Prince's authority in matters ec- " clesiastical; and to the erecting of this devised govern- " ment, without her Majesty's consent.

" Ninthly, This their platform of discipline, beside the " foresaid and sundry other erroneous points of divinity, " doth also contain or imply in it many positions of great " consequence and peril; as may appear by their own and " their complices interpretations in their writings.

" The first are points prejudicial to her Majesty's royal Disciplin. " prerogative: as, by making all dignities and benefices synod. " ecclesiastical to be elective by eldership, and by the

BOOK IV.

" people, they take away her Majesty's power in bestow-
" ing them, and patronage paramount upon lapses.

Anno 1590. Disciplin. synod.

" By giving the last appellation to a national synod, or
" general assembly, they bereave the Crown thereof. For
" the last appellations be now made to her Majesty in her
" Chancery: a special note of sovereignty in ecclesiastical
" jurisdiction.

Tho. Cartwright.

" They deny that her Highness hath authority to make
" laws ecclesiastical: saying, that without injury to the
" Minister, she cannot so much as prescribe the form of
" his apparel.

Succanus, J. B. de politia civili et ecclesiast.

" They give to the Prince but authority to see their dis-
" cipline erected and defended. They attribute in troth
" no more unto her than Papists do; viz. *Potestatem facti*
" *non juris in causis ecclesiasticis.*

333

" They make the Prince subject to the censure and ex-
" communication of the eldership where she remaineth.
" For else they hold her not a child of the Church.

Eccles. Disciplin. Counterpoison. Judgment of the learned men.

" They make the highest ecclesiastical authority, in all
" matters of the Church, to belong to their elderships and
" other assemblies. They give the power of appointing
" public fasts to their Church's assemblies. They give
" them power to call their synods when they think good.

Dr. Fenner.

" The second are points prejudicial to her Majesty's
" safety, and the realms. As, by affirming, that without
" the convention of the states of the land, the Prince may
" take no weighty matter in hand. They bar sovereign
" princes from treating of war, peace, or league, when they
" see cause.

Tho. Cartwright.

" They teach, that the government of the commonwealth
" must be framed according to the government of the
" Church. Which they make an *aristocratical* rule of a
" few; or *popular* by the most.

" They make in every kingdom certain magistrates to be
" the institution of God; having authority to depose their
" princes; like to the Ephori in Lacedæmon.

Ecclesiast. Discipline.

" The third are points prejudicial to the revenues of the
" Church. In that they hold the enjoying of all appro-

" priate parsonages, and other possessions of religious " houses, to be sacrilege; and of necessity to be restored " to the Church again.

" That ecclesiastical persons ought to be free from paying first-fruits, tenths, subsidies, &c.

" The fourth are points prejudicial to the state and laws " of the land. As that Papists and excommunicate persons' children may not be baptized.

Tho. Cartwright. Dr. Fenner. in Sacra Theolog.

" That the judicial law of Moses, for the very form of " punishing sundry crimes, ought of necessity to be observed.

" Therefore, say they, he that beateth his villain so excessively as that he dieth the next day, may not be " punished for it; except he purposely meant to take away " his life.

" That *lex talionis, an eye for an eye*, &c. ought to be " used in every commonwealth.

" No prince or law may pardon or save the lives of wilful offenders: as, blasphemers of God's name, breakers " of his sabbaths, conjurers, soothsayers, persons possessed, heretics perjured, neglecters of the sacraments, " disobedient to parents, or that curseth them, incestuous, " adulterers; a daughter committing fornication in her father's house, any incontinent persons, (saving offenders " in single fornication,) and those that conspire against a " man's life.

" That all matters wherein breach of charity may be, " and all matters of doctrine and manners, so far as appertaineth to conscience, belong to the determination of " elderships and the foresaid assemblies.

Admonit. Demonstrat. of Discipl.

" That Ministers not only may, but ought to determine " of all both civil and ecclesiastical causes; not of the " fact, as civil magistrates do, but touching the right, and " what the law is.

" As their said platform doth either abrogate wholly, or " quite change, very many other chief and fundamental " laws and statutes of the land.

" Tenthly, Notwithstanding all which inconveniences,

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590.

Epist. to the Demonstrat.

J. Payne to Lloyd.

334

Junius Brutus.

Buchanan.

Martyn.

Snape.

" one of them said; This cause must prevail, maugre the " malice of all that stand against it. By what means then, " seeing by suit and supplication it cannot, as they say? " In the second article of their submission they promise, " beside suit to the Council and Parliament, to further it " by other lawful and convenient means. What be those? " Verily, the same man that saith it must prevail, for his " part addeth this farther, that 'if it come in by that " means, which will make all your hearts to ache, you " must blame yourselves.'

" Another of them, in a letter written to his friend, in- " sinuateth this to be their doctrine; That if the Christian " magistrate, after so many petitions made, shall refuse to " erect it, they may do it of themselves. For he saith, it " is now generally looked for, they should play their parts " courageously against the proud prelates. That they can- " not be discharged of disloyalty, except they proceed " with practice. And so no further the Lord's cause by " suffering. That it is more than time to register the " names of the fittest and hottest brethren round about " their several dwellings; whereby to put Suecanus' good " counsel in execution; *viz.* 'If the magistrate will not, " then to erect it themselves. In this point, saith he, we " have dolefully failed: which now or never standeth us " in hand to prosecute with all celerity, without lingering, " and staying so long for Parliaments; where bishoply ad- " versaries bear the greatest sway in God's matters.'

" Others abroad (of this humour) do also teach, that in " this cause subjects may withstand their Prince. That " the Ministers, after due admonition, may excommuni- " cate him as an enemy against the kingdom of Christ. " That being so excommunicate, the people may punish " him: for that he thereby ceaseth to be King.

" One of our late libellers braggeth of an hundred thou- " sand hands. And wisheth the Parliament to bring in " this reformation, though it be by withstanding the " Queen's Majesty.

" Another of these Ministers asked this question; What

" will you say, if we overthrow the Bishops, and all that " government, in one day? But, saith he, it will not yet be " in a twelvemonth and an half. Anno 1590.

" A third of them so assureth himself hereof, by some " plat contrived by them, as that he writeth to know, how " Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Chancellors, Advocates, " Proctors, and Registers, &c. may under the reformation " be so provided for, that the commonwealth be not pes- " tered with beggars. And again, saith he, ' Buckle with " the Bishops. Massacre these malkins ministers.' Lord.

" Another of them also writeth thus; ' Let the Devil " and his deputies, the Bishops, do what they can. In the " mean time let us take our pennyworths of them, and not " die in their debts.' Wight.

" Divers of them, being detected of the premises, and " required to make answer (as this paper went on) upon " their oaths, do all (as combined together) peremptorily " refuse to do so: using very frivolous and childish cavils: " as, that it is not according to the law: and if it be, such " law is against conscience and God's word. That being " Ministers, they should not be accused under two or " three witnesses. That the deputy said, he would hear " Paul when his accusers came. That they are not bound " to accuse themselves. That they may not bring their " brethren into trouble. That they may not be accusers " of others. That in so doing they should violate the " laws of friendship. That the most, whom they should " discover, are altogether known to the Commissioners: " so that their oath need not. The example of Rahab, that " would not reveal the spies unto the king: of the mid- " wives, that did not as the king of Egypt commanded " them: of Jonathan, that being commanded of the king, " would not kill David, but bade him take heed: of the " king's servants, that would not kill the priests, though " the king commanded it: of Obadiah, that hid an hun- " dred of the priests in caves, to save them from Jezebel, " that would have killed them. And other such like, of no " moment. Refuse to answer upon oath *ex officio*: and why.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590.

"These reasons they pretend, but in truth the very "ground of their refusal (as some of them in private con- "ference have signified; and since they have inserted in a "common supplication) is this; because they think such "their dealings to be good and holy. Therefore they will "not, in such a cause, be instruments or detectors of their "brethren to the magistrates. Wherein, they say, a man "should rather give his life for his brother. Hereby in- "sinuating, that a man ought not to discover any thing of "himself or others that he taketh to be well done. And "so leaving it in every private man's liberty, whether he "will be examined by any magistrate, either of his own "or other men's facts."

These things therefore thus standing, it is propounded [by the Archbishop, as it seems, being chief in this commission ecclesiastical; before whom these men and their cause was] to be considered, first, "Whether it be not "expedient for the commonwealth and her Majesty's ser- "vice, to have the dealings of these men more particularly "yet discovered and suppressed, if it may be: secondly, "Seeing this cannot be effected by any means, but by the "confession of such as were partakers of their conferences, "(if they and others shall persist in refusal,) what course "were best to be taken for the terror of others? Whether "by *præmunire*, if they have incurred it by law; or by "some exemplary corporal punishment, to be inflicted by "the Lords of the Star-chamber, or otherwise."

To be considered concerning the premises.

335

And this deliberation, no doubt, was the ground of bringing them into the High Court, and of the proceedings with Cartwright and eight more. Where the brief of the bill against them was divided into many branches, to the number of thirty-seven. Which proceedings against them being large, I omit in this place, referring some further account thereof to the ensuing year.

The Archbishop shews the Lord Treasurer Cartwright's an-

The Archbishop, in this busy time with the Puritans, had, in discourse with the Lord Treasurer about Cartwright, the head of them, mentioned to him the answer he had drawn up, in the year 1586, to the Preface to the

Rhemists' English Testament; taking occasion therein (as the Archbishop shewed that Lord) now and then to magnify his new discipline. A copy whereof the Archbishop had: but varying in many things from the answer, as Cartwright had now given copies of it. Wherein many expressions (as it seems) were moderated to give the less offence, and to forward the allowance of the impression. Whereupon the said Lord desired of Cartwright a copy of his said answer. Which he accordingly transcribed, and sent him from Warwick in the month of August, together with his letter, concerning both this answer and that four years ago, to this tenor:

Anno 1590. Answer to the Preface of the Rhemists' Testament.

"That according to his Lordship's good pleasure, as "soon as he could get it written, and found a fit mes- "senger, he had sent his Honour the copy of his answer "unto the Preface of the Rhemists' Testament. Wherein "that there was some small difference between this copy "and that his Grace of Canterbury had, was, that sithence "that time, reading it over again, he had made (as he "might yet further, as long as it remained a nursing at "home with him) some small alteration. Howbeit as to "the matter of *discipline*, presently in controversy, there "was as much here as there; that is to say, nothing at all. "For as he esteemed it duty (he added) to defend the "truth thereof, when the Jesuits expressly oppugned it, "and saw not how he could in good conscience leave a "blank where they had made a blot; yet in the care he "had of not provoking, and covering our disagreement in "that behalf, that he never came to any of these points "but where they called him. And that he answered there "with as much brevity, and as great generality, as he "could; without any application unto our Church, or any "the governments of the same.

Cartwright sends the Lord Treasurer a copy of that answer, with his letter concerning it. Int. Epist. Puritan. penes me.

"And in that sort he confessed he had drawn a rude "draught of an argument, even to the Apocalypse, some "four years ago; until that he understood from the Arch- "bishop he was no further to deal in it. Wherein, he "said, he did not so much repent the Church's loss in

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590.

" the want of his poor labours, that could not much enrich
" it, as he was grieved that some things which came to
" other hands (after they were in Mr. Secretary Walsing-
" ham's) had been in danger to have been imperfectly and
" mangledly set forth, to the disadvantage of the truth.
" Which yet hitherto, partly by his importunate labour to
" them to have the copies, and partly, in that they could
" not get the rest out of his [Cartwright's] hands, had been
" stayed."

336

CHAP. II.

Cartwright summoned before the ecclesiastical Commissioners. Articles against him. Refuseth to answer upon the oath ex officio. *Committed to the Fleet. Under the Queen's displeasure. His letter to the Lord Treasurer thereupon. That Lord's advice to the Archbishop concerning Cartwright. Tracts by Morice and Dr. Cosin, for and against that oath. Other tracts of that argument. Some other Puritan Ministers brought before the commission: Hubbock, Kendal, Buccock. Their cases.*

Anno 1590. WHAT was further done this year with these men by the Archbishop in the ecclesiastical commission, I shall go on to relate.

Tho. Cartwright summoned before the ecclesiastical commission.

Thomas Cartwright, the father of this sect, (of whom so much before,) had been now, for four or five years past, at the new hospital at Warwick, founded by the Earl of Leicester; who had constituted him the first Master of it, with an house, and salary of 50*l.* per annum out of the revenue settled upon the said hospital, (which was 200*l.* per annum,) and besides, granted him an annuity of 50*l.* more. But this ease and retirement (notwithstanding former promises) could not keep him quiet. But his zeal for setting up his new discipline put him upon preaching often at Warwick and Coventry for the same; and caused him to be much busied in their *classes* and synods held at

Warwick and divers other places. For these practices, and for his book, the Queen had conceived great displeasure against him; and he fell into new troubles: being suspended from preaching by his Diocesan: and now was summoned up before the Queen's high Commissioners for ecclesiastical causes. And divers articles (to the number of thirty-one) were objected against him, bearing date Sept. 1, 1590. Which articles, drawn up by the Archbishop, or his special order, (as appears by the writing, which is the hand of one of his secretaries,) bore this title:

Anno 1590.

Articles objected by her Majesty's Commissioners for causes ecclesiastical, against Mr. Thomas Cartwright, Clerk, Bachelor in Divinity, Sept. 1, 1590.

Articles preferred there against him. Collect. of Archbishop Whitg. papers penes R. T. Bret. LL. D.

" I. First, We do object and articulate against him, that " he being a Minister, at least a Deacon, lawfully called, " according to the godly laws and orders of this Church of " England, hath forsaken, abandoned, and renounced the " same orders ecclesiastical, as an antichristian and un- " lawful manner of calling unto the ministry or deacon- " ship.

" II. *Item*, That he, departing this realm into foreign " parts without licence, as a man discontented with the " form of government ecclesiastical here by law esta- " blished, the more to testify his dislike and contempt " thereof, and of the manner of his former vocation and " ordination, was contented in foreign parts (as at Ant- " werp, Middleburgh, or elsewhere) to have a new voca- " tion, election, or ordination, by imposition of hands unto " the ministry; or unto some other order or degree eccle- " siastical: and in other manner and form than the laws " ecclesiastical of this realm do prescribe. Let him de- " clare upon his oath the particular circumstances thereof.

" III. *Item*, That by virtue or colour of such his latter " vocation, election, or ordination, becoming a pretended " Bishop or Pastor of such congregation as made choice " of him, he established, or procured to be established at

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590. 337

"Antwerp and at Middleburgh, among merchants and "other her Majesty's subjects, a certain consistory, se- "niory, presbytery, or eldership ecclesiastical; consisting "of himself, being Bishop or Pastor, (and so president "thereof,) of a Doctor, of certain ancients, seniors or el- "ders, for government ecclesiastical; and of Deacons, for "distributing to the poor, &c."

Full. Hist. book ix. p. 198.

I forbear to set down the rest of the articles, being very correctly transcribed in Dr. Fuller's Church History, (from a copy of them found in Travers's study, and communicated to that author,) as I have found by comparing them in his printed book with the Archbishop's MS. an original of them. Only in article the 4th in the Archbishop's MS. the name *Axton* is miswrit *Acton*, in the transcript. And at article the 13th, the last clause there is made a new article in the said MS. being set in the margin thus: 14. "*Item*, That he, in a lecture at Coventry, in Mr. Fen's "place, upon Psalm cxxii. where there is mention of *thrones*, "laboured to teach the doctrine of the Presbyteries: and "urging the discipline, he affirmed the want thereof to be "the cause why some forsook our Church, and that ene- "mies and Papists would not come near her, &c."

The Lord Treasurer's advice to the Archbishop concerning his dealing with Cartwright.

To these articles exhibited, Cartwright was required to answer upon oath, the two chief Justices and other Judges being present in this commission; but he utterly refusing so to do, which was, he said, to accuse himself, he was sent to the Fleet. In the mean time he applied himself by letters to the Lord Treasurer, who, considering the former controversies that had been between the Archbishop and Cartwright, (to prevent all evil surmises upon him, should he now sit as his judge,) thought it more advisable, for the Archbishop's reputation, that he should absent himself at Cartwright's appearance, and leave him to the other Commissioners. And further, he thought it agreeable to charity, seeing he had been orderly (as he had heard Cartwright affirm) in his late preaching, that matters might not be hardly prosecuted against him. And therefore to

this tenor I find a letter of the said nobleman, dated in October, writ to the Archbishop. "That it might please "his Grace to accept these few lines as he meant them, "(without interpretation of his letters to any other sense,) "the more to respect his Grace than the party for whom "he wrote. That his Grace remembered of late, how he "had moved, that if Mr. Cartwright (for whom he now "wrote) were to be convented for any misorder in causes "of religion, he might rather appear before some other of "the Commissioners. And that, he assured his Grace, he "moved, not for any respect of him, but of his Grace, "even in respect of public opinion, let him not be charged "with old causes: wherein, he said, he thought he was "taught to make amends. But yet his Grace, as he "added, well knew an old true sentence, *Qui cedit in-*"*genio, rarus est. Labimur enim omnes.* And that, be-"cause Cartwright now constantly affirmed to him, that "he had given no cause of late years to be charged with "any disorder in his preaching or readings; he was of "opinion, that it were not good in charity, nor to edifica-"tion, to have so far strained upon an old charge. That "his Grace must not think that he was carried away with "any particular respect for this man; or to any, to com-"fort them in walking disorderly. But yet he prayed his "Grace to bear with his conceit, *viz.* that he saw not that "diligence or care taken to win these kind of men that "were precise, either by learning or courtesy: which, as "he imagined, might reclaim them." This was dated from his house at Westminster, the 14th of October, 1590. Subscribed, *Your Grace's at commandment, Will. Burleigh.* What the Archbishop's answer was, I do not find: but I find he was not present at Cartwright's commitment to the Fleet.

The issue with Cartwright before the Commissioners.

Cartwright was twice before the commission in the month of October. And the compassionate Lord Treasurer, upon the further solicitation made to him by the same, directed another letter to the Archbishop in his behalf. But a short account of the proceedings with Cart-

BOOK IV. Anno 1590.

wright at this time, as he himself wrote it to the said Lord, November 4, (which, as it seemed, he desired to know,) was, that being offered in general an indefinite oath, to answer to whatsoever should be demanded of him, touching articles to be objected against him; he returned, that he esteemed it contrary both to the laws of God and of the land, to require such an oath, especially of a Minister. In the end, they reading unto him the heads and generals, as they called them, of his articles, which were many in number, he answered, that albeit he held not himself bound by any law in this cause to take an oath, yet because he perceived that some of the things objected were truly criminal, from suspicion whereof he would be willing to free his ministry, and therein to deliver himself from the suspicion and jealousy of the magistrates, (her Majesty especially;) as, namely, that he had given over his ministry, and taken another; that he had ordained Ministers, held conventicles, and called synods; he would be content, if no other proof would suffice, to take an oath for clearing himself in them, and other like unto them, if any were: so that he might have the articles before, with deliberation and counsel to give up his answers, whereunto he would be sworn. And whereas they objected to him the making of libels; he said, that although he esteemed (Martin set apart) some dutifully and learnedly written, (which they or some of them might judge libels,) yet because he had professed unto the Lord Treasurer (to whom he gave this account of himself) that he dealt not in them, lest it might be suspected that he had laid down any untruths in a letter to a person of such authority and honour, he refused not to answer even to that also. Which otherwise he would never, he said, be drawn upon oath to answer; lest by his answer upon oath in this case others might be prejudiced, who would refuse to answer upon theirs: and that if there was any article that he refused to answer upon oath, he offered to give reasons thereof. Which if it would not satisfy them, he would submit himself to the punishment they should award. And this, he

338

said, was the sum of what had passed in both their meetings. And the cause thus by him laid open to the eyes of that Lord, he solicited his compassion; and that not of him alone, but of the poor people of Warwick, utterly, he said, destitute of any tolerable ministry; to the great grief of many good men, and the triumph of Papists, and such as made a scorn of religion. And so he recommended the cause to his Honour. This was his relation of this matter, in his letter dated from the Fleet, November 4, 1590. Anno 1590.

This behaviour of Cartwright did not at all satisfy the Commissioners: so that he still continued in the Fleet prison; and the next year too; when some liberty was granted, by the Archbishop's favour, to him and divers other Puritan Ministers, detained in other prisons; to have their liberties on the Lord's day, and one day besides in the week, to go upon their necessary occasions; returning to their several prisons every night. For which they gave their bond, as we shall hear more of under the year 1591. Continues still in the Fleet.

But it is but fair, and may not be amiss, to shew what Cartwright could say for himself, both upon the Queen's displeasure taken against him, and for his being called up before the Queen's Commissioners. It was but four days before his first appearance before them, *viz.* October the 4th, that he writ to the Lord Treasurer, "How extremely "troubled he was that the Queen should be offended with "him: and that he had printed no books to give offence "to her Majesty, or the State, for thirteen years past. "That he was one that disliked of Martin Marprelate's "book. That he was able to make proof he had con-"tinually declared against those books, and was sorry for "such disorderly proceedings. And that for his ministry, "which he had exercised now five years since his coming "out of the Low Countries, he had sparingly spoken of "any matters in controversy between him and his bre-"thren; though some men had made whole sermons, in-"vective against him, even in the place of his abode." Cartwright's plea for himself.

BOOK IV.

The whole letter, whereof these be some of the contents, may be found in the Appendix.

Anno 1590. Numb. I.

A treatise against the oath *ex officio* by Morice.

In Cartwright's refusal to take the oath *ex officio*, he had (no question) the advice of others; who instructed him, that such an oath was contrary to the laws of the land, and an inquisition tyrannical. Which served well for Cartwright and his fellows to keep their doings secret in
339 their synods and assemblies; and that what consultations were held there among themselves against the Church, and the established laws of it, might be the more undiscovered. Amongst these counsellors of the Puritans in these times was James Morice, Attorney of the Court of Wards; who had writ a discourse against this oath, and sent it to the Lord Treasurer; withal, as the cause of his writing, telling him, "that perceiving some abuses in the "courts ecclesiastical, by reason of the daily practice of "inquisition in causes criminal *ex officio mero*, that is, "upon secret suggestions or insinuations, without legal "accusation, by putting the party to take an oath to an-"swer, before he knoweth whereunto, and by the unjust "imprisonment of her Majesty's people, for the refusal of "such oath: therefore he thought it his duty, by a brief "treatise, to shew the iniquity of these proceedings; as "repugnant to the law of God, and injurious to the policy "of this realm."

Dr. Cosin answers it.

This treatise, I say, after he had finished it, he delivered to the Lord Treasurer, that he might confirm him in the same opinion, (no question,) that by his discountenancing that oath, the Puritans might escape the better. Soon after Dr. Cosin, a learned Civilian, and a chief officer of the Archbishop, got a sight of it, the copy being sent, as it seems, to the Archbishop from the Treasurer. And in the beginning of last Parliament, Cosin published a large apology for the ecclesiastical proceedings: and therein took upon him to confute that treatise. But Morice again framed his defence in writing against Cosin's answer. Wherein he saw, as he said, he perverted the said treatise,

Morice defendeth his book against Cosin.

and abused the author. And in that Defence he mentioned his former book; and more fully shewed the injustice of administering that oath. But he retained his Defence in private, lest any offence might be taken thereby. Anno 1590.

The Archbishop discourseth with Morice about it.

Afterwards the Archbishop of Canterbury, understanding he had made an answer to Dr. Cosin's book, sent unto him earnestly desiring a copy thereof. Which however loath Morice was to do, yet yielded unto his desire upon these cautions; that he might no way receive hurt or hinderance thereby, and that the Archbishop would take in good part whatsoever he found in it. For that his only intent therein was, to have the truth in those judicial questions to be known unto his Grace; whom he took to be a lover of justice; and one in whom it lay to reform these abuses: adding moreover, that his oath and allegiance to her Majesty, his duty to the realm, and his regard to his own honesty, touched by Dr. Cosin, enforced this his Defence. His Grace, with great thanks, and many faithful protestations to perform those conditions, received his book. Almost a year after coming to Lambeth, the Archbishop told him he had perused his book, and liked well thereof in many points, (meaning, as it seems, in respect of some abuses in spiritual courts.) Yet adding, that he thought Mr. Morice erred in one; that was, in the matter of proceeding *ex officio:* comparing it but to the course used in the court of Star-chamber. But Morice in few words shewed the Archbishop the difference: and desired him, if he were not well satisfied therein with the reasons of his book, to refer the matter to the determination of the learned Judges of the realm. Which his Grace liked not, but wished a conference therein between Dr. Cosin and him. And so with many kind words, and very good usage, he departed. All this relation I take from Morice's own letter to the Lord Treasurer.

Morice reprimanded.

But this ended not so. For the said Lord required an account of Morice, concerning this his writing; for that some had taken offence thereat. To which he in vindication of himself said, that he hoped he deserved no blame,

BOOK IV.

except it were his fault to defend in covert, and in private manner, her Majesty's right, and the justice of our country: whereas Cosin dared, and that publicly, and in printed books maintained an unjust inquisition. And thereby impugned the laws and policy of England. Adding, in some discontent, these words: "He may at his pleasure write of "her Majesty's courts and consistories, civil and ecclesi- "astical, most erroneously, and yet without check or con- "trolment: but I, poor man, such is my ill hap, may "not; no, in such private and privy manner, maintain the "right cause of justice, without some blot or blemish; and "that after many years." And so he referred himself to Almighty God, and his Lordship's wise and honourable consideration.

Anno 1590.

340

Morice's tract in the Cotton library. Cleopatra. F. 1.

This gentleman, being in those times a man learned in the laws, and often a member of Parliament, and professed favourer of the Puritan faction; his abovesaid treatise perhaps might be inquired after. Which, if I be not much mistaken, is still remaining among the MSS. in the Cotton library. There is a treatise to that purpose there, writ in the 32d of the Queen, (that is, part of the last year 1589. and of 1590,) which undertook to shew, that the Clergy cannot compel to take an oath. And afterwards it proceeded to dispute against the oath *ex officio*. The tract is entitled, "*A Collection, shewing what jurisdiction the "Clergy had heretofore lawfully used, and may lawfully "use, in the realm of England.* Wherein is manifestly "proved, that the Prelates, or ecclesiastical judges, never "had any authority to compel any subject of the land to "an oath, unless it were in causes testamentary or matri- "monial, or thereunto appertaining: with a confutation of "such frivolous and unlearned surmises, as have been "made for the maintenance of the Clergy's unlawful pro- "ceeding in these days to the contrary. Whereby they "have sundry ways incurred the penalty of the statutes of "*provision* and *præmunire*." It is written shrewdly; and runs much against the Bishops' jurisdictions. The author in the process of his book (where he came to dispute

against the oath *ex officio*) beginneth thus: "If any in- "different conference under equal and learned judges "might be obtained, these conclusions following shall be "maintained with better divinity, law, and learning, than "is or can be shewed on the other side, [very assuming- "ly spoken,] notwithstanding all the great boasts, though "more confidently than skilfully, have been made to the "contrary." These conclusions follow: Anno 1590.

Conclusions against the oath *ex officio*.

I. The proceeding *ex officio*, and urging of the oath, is against the word of God and the law of nature.

II. That it was never liked nor allowed by any general or particular council; any Canon of the Church, or any ancient Fathers, by the space of one thousand years after Christ.

III. The same manner of proceeding, being first brought in use in the time of the ten first persecutions of the primitive Church, seemed so unjust, that it was countermanded by some of the said Pagan persecuting emperors.

IV. It was against the Pope's law contained in the Decretals. Which brought such an inquisition in, in case of heresy only; *et ubi periculum est accusatori;* and not otherwise.

V. It is against the laws, liberties, and customs of the realm. And the writ, cited out of the Register and Fitz-Herbert, is a good, authentical, and lawful writ.

VI. It is against her Majesty's prerogative, for them to use such a jurisdiction without any warrant at all. Several other conclusions there are, which for brevity sake I omit.

Another tract against the oath. Cleopatra. F. 1. p. 50.

In the same volume of the Cotton library is another discourse to the same intent, being *A brief Treatise of Oaths, exacted by Ordinaries and ecclesiastical Judges: to answer generally to all such articles, or interrogatories, as it pleaseth them to propound; and of their forced and constrained oaths* ex officio. *Wherein is proved that the same are unlawful.*

Another tract on the same subject.

There is yet another treatise in the same volume, concerning oaths in ecclesiastical courts. Which is in favour

BOOK IV.

of them. And yet another discourse with the same title of oaths in ecclesiastical courts. In which are the judg-

Anno 1590.

ments set down of nine of the learnedest Civilians, most of them Judges in the civil and ecclesiastical courts: signed by themselves, *viz.* Aubrey, Byng, Cosin, Forth, Lewyn, Lloyd, Dun, Stanhope, and Styward. After they

341

had laid down their reasons, this was the conclusion: "These are undoubted grounds in the law ecclesiastical: "according to which the proceedings in all the ecclesias- "tical courts in this realm have been used time out of "mind. And if any Judge ecclesiastical have proceeded "otherwise, such proceedings have always been reformed "by appellations." These learned men's judgments seem to have been asked and procured by the Archbishop, for the justifying of his proceedings, and the better fixing the methods used in the ecclesiastical courts. This I have thought worthy preserving among my records.

Numb. II.

Hubbock, a Puritan Minister, before the Archbishop in commission;

Besides Cartwright, others there were of his fraternity with whom this year the Archbishop, in the ecclesiastical commission, had to do; and in whose behalf the Lord Treasurer, and some others of the Court, interceded to have favour shewed them; especially such as seemed to that good Lord to be more modest than the rest. Of this number he reckoned one Hubbock to be; for whom he sent a favourable letter to the Archbishop. But the Archbishop told him, that the Lord Treasurer mistook the matter; and that he would inform him: adding, that he would send for him to Lambeth after some days, when there would be more Commissioners. And then they would determine upon his matter. This man then was brought up before that commission, for preaching a seditious sermon in or near Oxford; wherein a reflection was made against a certain great man. It is not said what the particular passage in his sermon was; but that the Commissioners held it undutiful and seditious. And the matter they stood upon with him was, to urge him to enter into bonds that he would forbear to preach; and that he would not come within ten miles of Oxford. Whereunto Hubbock

said, that he could not with a safe conscience enter into any such bonds; nor to do any act, whereby he should willingly exclude himself from the service of his ministry. Nevertheless, that if he should be put to silence, (although he would not deny authority,) yet he had rather, if it were his own choice, be committed to prison, than of his own will to be silent from preaching; unless he might be informed and taught, that he had committed any fault by preaching false doctrine, or by publishing any such offence, as he might be justly condemned thereof. Thus he reported his case to Mr. Treasurer Knollys, to whom he made his address. The Archbishop also required of him to subscribe, telling him, that it was justifiable. And that if he would do as it was then offered to him, he might be dismissed, and come to an end of his troubles. Anno 1590.

The said Mr. Treasurer, upon this address, and the account this man had given of himself, sent him to the Lord Treasurer with his letter, signifying, that he could not but recommend him to his good consideration, that knew how to judge and deal far better in these matters than he himself. This letter was writ from Greenwich, where the Court now was, March the 29th, 1590; was brought thence by Hubbock to the said Lord. But notwithstanding a decree went forth against him. This much displeased Mr. Treasurer.

In the mean time the Archbishop had acquainted the Lord Treasurer with this whole matter in a letter sent him, together with the decree of the High Commissioners. Both which the said Lord sent by his secretary, Mr. Maynard, to Mr. Treasurer for his satisfaction, in answer to his letter. But two days after, this zealous gentleman, taking still the part of the Minister, wrote back again, "that he observed, there was none offence mentioned "that Mr. Hubbock had committed, but only that he said, "that a great nobleman [by which, it seems, the Archbi- "shop was meant] kneeled down to her Majesty, for stay- "ing and hindering her intent to reform religion, [that is, "according to the new projected reformation.] Where-

For some expressions and reflections in a sermon. Which Knollys excuses.

BOOK IV. Anno 1590.

"upon collections were made, he said, to aggravate the "fault. And this Minister told him, that he had said no- "thing thereof more than he heard himself the Bishop of "Winchester report: and that the scope of his sermon "was only to provoke a learned ministry." Mr. Treasurer Knollys added, (reflecting upon the Archbishop,)

342 "that his Lordship knew how violently the Archbishop "had often been against the request of the Parliament in "that behalf. And also, that his Lordship knew how "greatly, yea, and tyrannously, the Archbishop had urged "subscription to his own articles without law, [as he churl-

Accuses the Archbishop and Bishops, for their claiming superiority.

"ishly and angrily wrote.] That his Lordship did also "know how plainly the said Archbishop (in his book en- "titled, *Dr. Whitgift against Cartwright*) had claimed, in "the right of all Bishops, a *superiority* belonging to them, "over all the inferior Clergy, from God's own ordinance; "to the Popish injury of her Majesty's supreme govern- "ment. Now it was no sufficient recompence, as he "added, for the Archbishop to say barely, that he did not "claim at this present a superiority over the inferior "Clergy from God's own ordinance; unless he would also "retract the claim of superiority from God's own ordi- "nance; as he had set it down in his said printed book. "And that without the which retractation, her Majesty's "supreme government could neither be salved nor pre- "served, as he thought."

Thus did this zealous gentleman slip away from excusing his client, and fell foul upon the Archbishop and those of his order. Concerning this plausible objection against Bishops, which Mr. Treasurer made a great noise of, on pretence of the Queen's safety, and the preservation of her supremacy, (as though it were dangerously encroached on,) some further relation will fall in afterwards.

Kendal, another Puritan, silenced by the Bishop.

Kendal was another of these Ministers, for whom the Lord Treasurer the next month, *viz.* in April, interceded with the Archbishop, (who had inhibited him from preaching,) that he might be restored to his preaching, being, as he urged to the Archbishop, learned and peaceable. He

had been lately reader in some place about Oxford. That Lord's recommendation of him to the Archbishop's favour proceeded from hence; that he did not only hear this man well reported of for his honest life and conversation; but also, that he had seen himself a treatise of his making; containing certain readings of his own upon the Prophet Jonah; wherein he had shewn both good learning and great modesty. And that therefore he could not deny to move his Grace for his restitution to his reading again. And much the rather a great deal, as he added, for that he was likewise informed, that albeit he was not yet persuaded in his conscience touching some ceremonies and the subscription; yet he neither had nor would in any of his sermons discourse upon, or touch, the government of the Church, or any matters in question about ceremonies: but only apply himself to edification in essential points of doctrine, and reformation of the corruption of this time in manners.

Anno 1590.

And then, upon these conditions promised, did the good Lord Treasurer solicit the Archbishop, "That upon the "hope thereof, and the want that the Church had of good "labourers to weed out this cockle and darnel, he heartily "prayed him to remit Kendal to his former function of "preaching, until he should, in his sermons or otherwise, "do or utter any matter tending to the disturbance, or "defacing the quiet and established government now in "the Church. And so he bade his Grace very heartily "farewell. From the Court, the 21st of April, 1590." I do not find what success this letter had with the Archbishop. But the Treasurer, as he always left Churchmen and their affairs to the judgment of the Archbishop, so he would not intercede for any of that sort, but the modest, peaceable, and well disposed among them; who, by their preaching the Gospel sincerely, might in those times, when preachers were wanting, be serviceable, by their instructions of the people in the principles of true religion.

Let me mention one Clergyman more, with whom the Archbishop had some concern in the same month of April,

Buccock another in danger.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590. The Archbishop's favour towards him.

wherein his charity and good nature appeared: who, committing an offence, proceeding from rashness, had like to have drawn great inconveniences, if not utter ruin, upon himself. His name was Buccock, or Buccote. This man, being a Fellow of Corpus Christi college, Oxon, (of which house Cole was then Head,) had in a sermon used some fond speeches concerning the Bishop of Lincoln, their Visitor; very undiscreetly uttered: but what they were it
343 doth not appear. But the crime was esteemed so great, and the said Head so offended, that the other was like to be expelled the college. Which punishment might have taken him off from his studies, and perhaps have put him to some desperate shifts; as the exposing him to the temptations of going over sea to some of the seminaries, as many nowadays did. But application was made for him to the Lord Treasurer, the great patron of distressed scholars: and himself addressed to our Archbishop. He acknowledged his error; nor had he uttered any erroneous doctrine, or otherwise been offensive to the orders of the Church: and in short had so satisfied the Archbishop, that he dismissed him with favour, and left the said Lord to write to Dr. Cole in his behalf. Which that Lord readily did. And in his letters he signified to the said Head, that this person had before him offered all conformity required of him, as a Fellow of the house: and that he had conference with him, and in his small understanding (as that Lord modestly expressed himself) he thought him very well learned. Which moved him, he said, to be the more earnest for him. And so entreated the said Head to shew him what favour he might; remembering, as he added, *in multis labimur omnes.*

CHAP. III.

Udal and Penry, two Puritans, condemned to die, for seditious books by them written. Demonstration of Discipline. Remonstrance to the Demonstration, in answer thereunto. Danger of Puritanism. Penry's books: An Humble Motion. Dr. Bancroft's Sermon; answered. An argument against Bishops' superiority, as dangerous to the Queen's safety. Managed by Mr. Treasurer Knollys; communicated to the Archbishop. A courtier publisheth a book in favour of the Bishops. Knollys is checked by the Queen for meddling against the established government of the Church by Bishops.

TWO other of this faction had harder fate; namely, Penry and Udal; both of them being condemned to die, for books by them written, not only most insolently treating Bishops and their government, but tending manifestly to sedition and rebellion. Anno 1590.

Udal, (who was a Minister in Kingston upon Thames,) for his book, (called, *The Demonstration of Discipline; which Christ hath prescribed in his Word, for the government of the Church in all times and places, until the world's end,*) was indicted and arraigned at the assizes held at Croyden, July 23, 32 Eliz. for defaming the Queen's government. The Preface was writ, *To the supposed Governors of the Church of England, Archbishops, Lord Bishops, Archdeacons, and the rest of the order.* In which book are these words, (which were inserted in the indictment.) "Who can, without blushing, deny you "to be the cause of all ungodliness; seeing your govern- "ment is that which giveth leave to a man to be any thing, "saving a sound Christian. For certainly it is more free "in these days to be a Papist, Anabaptist, of the Family of "Love, yea, any most wicked one whatsoever, than that "which we should be: and I could live these twenty "years any such in England, (yea, in a Bishop's house it Udal indicted for his book. His expressions therein.

BOOK IV.

" may be,) and never be molested for it. So true is that " which you are charged with in a dialogue lately come
Anno 1590. " forth against you, and since burned by you, that you " care for nothing but the maintenance of your dignities; " be it to the damnation of your own souls, and infinite
344 " millions mo." And then he applied some advice to the Bishops, in these words; " That they should enter " now at last into the serious consideration of these things. " That they should remember, that one day they must be " presented before the tribunal seat of Jesus Christ, to be " arraigned for all the souls that had gone to hell, (seeing " they would needs be the rulers of the Church,) since the " Gospel first appeared in this land. And that they should " not be excused then with this, that the Queen and " Council will have it so; nor with that, our state cannot " bear it. For that it should be said unto them, Why did " you not inform them better of my will?——Why did you " not tell them, that all states must be ruled by my word, " and not my word by them and their policies?" And as for our Archbishop's book in *defence* of the Church against these new models of discipline, this man charged
Epist. to the reader. it to be a most unlearned piece; saying, " That of the " adversaries of the cause there were two sorts, *viz.* they " that knew it, and they that were ignorant of it. Of the " former, (whereof Dr. Whitgift was chief,) they were con- " tented to deal in so roving a course, as might rather arise " unto a great volume, than soundly to say any thing against " the cause. And that he and Dr. Bridge, with others of " their judgment, none in these latter days had written " more unlearnedly than they, of any argument of divinity " whatsoever."

Condemned for felony; but pardoned. This man, after his arraignment and trial, was condemned, 33 Eliz. to be executed for felony: but he died afterwards his natural death in the Marshalsea, anno 1593, to prevent a more shameful death, as Fuller suggests. Nay, say I, he had his pardon; and that chiefly procured by the Archbishop himself: who shewed therein his great

Christian mildness, even towards his worst and most implacable enemies: and that he owed no ill-will to any, but studied only the preservation of the Church, as it was settled in the first happy reformation of it. He was spared from execution for some time by the Queen's clemency and the Lord Treasurer's solicitation. And now in February, the assizes coming on, he feared a warrant might be made for his execution. Whereupon he petitioned the said Lord Treasurer, February 2, from the White Lion Prison in Southwark, as followeth:

Anno 1590.

" Right honourable, my singular good Lord,

" Being persuaded of your honourable care for the advancement of religion, wisdom in managing the affairs of the land, and equity to all her Highness' subjects, I will be brief; which I humbly pray may not make my suit the less regarded. Her excellent Majesty hath vouchsafed, of her gracious clemency, hitherto to forbid the taking away of my life; which at these next assizes, beginning the 18th of February, is threatened by some in authority to be brought into more danger than heretofore. Wherefore I humbly pray your Honour to prevent that purpose, (as you have once done heretofore,) and to be an honourable means to her Highness that I may be released: either that I may return to the labour of my calling, as in time past; or that I may live a private life, to provide for my poor wife and children; or at least that, with her Majesty's favour, I may go beyond the seas. The worst of which conditions would be more joyful unto me, (especially that now Papists are set at liberty, and the prisons filled with God's servants, her Highness' most faithful subjects,) than this miserable state wherein I stand; being irksome to myself, grievous to my poor friends, chargeable unto many, and profitable unto none. So shall I yet be more bound (which I vow to do, howsoever it go with me) to pray heartily unto God for your Honour's prosperous state long to endure,

Udal's petition to the Lord Treasurer.

BOOK IV. Anno 1590.

" to the glory of God, the comfort of his Church, the ho-
" nour of her Highness, the increase of quiet in the land,
" and your own everlasting comfort.

" Your Honour's poor orator to command,
" in the Lord Jesus Christ,
" Jo. Udal, Prisoner."

His life obtained by the Archbishop's intercession.

345 This petition was seconded effectually by the Archbishop's interceding with the Queen for his life; which was granted, as the writer of this Archbishop's life tells us: but yet he remained a prisoner in Southwark, and died there about the year 1593.

The Demonstration answered by a Remonstrance.

I must add, there was soon an answer set forth to this Demonstration of Udal's, entitled, *A Remonstrance to the Demonstration;* which came out this year 1590. In the Preface whereof the author shews the ill consequences of Puritanism grown to this height, and likewise the blessing of God to this Church in the Archbishop; of whom, in the midst of those heaps of reproaches cast upon him by the faction, this better and truer character was given there.

The Archbishop's character there described.

" Touching that most reverend Prelate, you and your
" complices may, in this licentious and outrageous world,
" speak pleasurably: never yet good man speak but ho-
" nour of him: whom her Majesty hath graciously vouch-
" safed, under her, to exercise Christian jurisdiction and
" authority: whose primacy is humility: who is, for his
" virtue, no less honourable than loved: whose learning
" angereth you: unto whom if ye will make answer, you
" must study for more learning. I am verily persuaded,
" that as God in all ages raised excellent men, instruments
" of his glory, to confute and banish out of the Church
" heresy; as Athanasius against the Arians, Augustin
" against the Donatists, Augustin and Hierom against the
" Pelagians, and, in our later time, Bishop Jewel against
" the false Catholics and Semipelagians: so God hath
" stirred up this learned man against the false brethren
" and Aerians of our time; to hammer and beat down the

"schism and singularity of Puritans. And therefore, as "he concluded, I do humbly thank God, that it hath "pleased his glorious Majesty in heaven, and her excellent "Majesty here on earth, to reserve him to these times." Anno 1590.

Danger of Puritanism shewn.

And as for the dangerous consequences attending Puritanism, if it took place, thus the same grave author, in his said Preface, writes: "I speak it in the fear of God, had "not her Majesty's principal spirit of wisdom, illuminated "with God's truth, together with the heroical prudent "spirits of certain honourable personages and industrious "learned men, affecting a provident care of the posterity "of the Church, patronized this Church discipline, your "private spirits of new-fangled discipline haply had more "prevailed against these godly and religious proceedings "in the Church; nay, to the utter removing of the Gospel, "by such confusion and *anarchy*. Imagine (saith he) that "you see the external face of that Church; where you "might see so many thousand superintendents; so many "elderships advanced, in or about the Church; to make "orders, and to censure at pleasure: where the people "give voices; the laity lay on hands; the majesty of the "Prince excluded from all sway in the Presbytery; all "antiquity forlorn; all councils utterly repelled; doctrine "divided from exhortation; laymen deacons of the Church; "parish bishops, parrot-preachers; the Universities dis-"graced [degraded] of the privilege of granting degrees; "cathedral churches by greedy wolves spoiled; all courts "of justice overthrown, or impaired by the consistorial "court of elders; and, as it were, all the trees of the "garden of Eden plucked up, to implant the fair goodly "*elders*, or elder-tree."

Ephraim Udal, Rector of St. Augustin's, London.

This Udal had a son, named Ephraim Udal, Rector of St. Augustin's by St. Paul's, a man of a quite different mind to his father. He was for episcopacy, and held the revenues of the Church sacred; both which, in the Long Parliament time, were struck at by such as were of his father's principles. For the preventing of which, this Ephraim wrote an honest book, an. 1641, called, *Noli me*

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590.

tangere: therein charging the Parliament with sacrilege, for their endeavours (which they brought to pass) of abolishing the government of the Church by Bishops, and of taking away the lands of Deans and Chapters: saying, "That they had thereby brought a national sin upon the "land: and that it was an unclean spirit breathed these "things into their minds. That all their goodly pretences "were hypocritical, and but the mask of vile iniquity and "holy theft: and that it was a thing senseless, that lay-"men should have tithes, which were *jure divino* belong-
346 "ing to the Clergy for their subsistence in the ministry: "and that to alien the lands belonging to cathedral "churches, to maintain preaching Ministers, as was in-"tended, was to pervert the will of the dead that gave "them." But for this book, and no other immorality attributed to him, he was sequestered of his living: as White relates in his first century of scandalous and malignant Priests, printed anno 1643.

Penry, a main author of Marprelate;

John Penry (born in the mountains of Wales) had the chief hand in composing Martin Marprelate, that abusive, slanderous, lying book. For the taking up of the authors and printers thereof, a proclamation was set forth soon after it came abroad; yet he seemed not to have been taken till some years after. That and some other of his books were so intolerable, that there was no sparing of him; and became so obnoxious to the laws and the Queen's displeasure, that he was arraigned and condemned for felony at the King's Bench bar at Westminster, as we shall hereafter hear. This hot Welshman would not lie still; but even while narrow search was made for him, I meet with

And other books of slander and sedition.

one or two books more of his writing, coming forth this year, 1590, (but no place where, nor by whom printed, is mentioned,) full of the rudest language; condemning most rigorously the present government in the State, but especially in the Church. One of them was a treatise in quarto, *wherein is manifestly proved, that Reformation, and those that sincerely favour the same, are unjustly charged to be enemies unto her Majesty and the State. Written both for*

the clearing of those that stand in that cause, and the stopping of the slanderous mouths of all the enemies thereof. The epistle will shew abundantly the strain of the book. It was written, *To all those that sincerely love the Lord Jesus, and seek the flourishing estate of his kingdom.* Therein are these words: Anno 1590.

" The Lord, by the mouths of his servants, and by his " forenamed blessings, hath these thirty-one years besought " and earnestly entreated, yea wooed, as it were, all estates " among us to look unto their own souls, to-day while it is " called to-day, and to lay a certain hold upon him while he " may be found, by a thorough receiving of his Gospel, to- " gether with the ministers thereof, and by shewing kind- " ness unto his desolate house. But what hath England " answered? Surely, with an impudent forehead she hath " said, I will not come near the Holy One; and as for the " building of his house, I will not so much as lift up a " finger towards that work: nay, I will continue the deso- " lations thereof. And if any speak a word in the behalf of " this house," [secretly, but plainly enough, reflecting all along upon the Queen,] " or bewaileth the misery of it, I " will account him an enemy to my state. As for the Gos- " pel and the ministry of it, I have already received all the " gospels and all the ministries that I mean to receive: I " have received a reading gospel and a reading ministry; " a pompous gospel and a pompous ministry; a gospel " and ministry that strengtheneth the hands of the wicked " in his iniquity; a gospel and a ministry that will stoop " unto me, and be at my beck, either to speak or to be " mute, when I shall think good. Briefly, I have received " a gospel and a ministry that will never trouble my con- " science with a sight of my sins: which is all the gospels " and all the ministries which I mean to receive. And I " will make a sure hand, that the Lord's house, if I can " choose, shall be no otherwise edified, than by the hands " of such men as bring unto me the foresaid gospel and " the foresaid ministry," &c. One printed anno 1588. A taste thereof.

Afterwards he speaks thus of our *supposed ministry*, as

BOOK IV.

he styled them, [that is, the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy:] "Will you come unto them and see what they
Anno 1590. "are? Alas! you can behold here no other sight but a
This charge against the ministry. "multitude of desperate and forlorn atheists, that have "put the evil day far from them, and endeavoured to per- "suade their own hearts that God's holy ministry, and the "saving health of men's souls, are matters not to be re- "garded. You shall find among this crew nothing else but "a troop of bloody soul-murderers, sacrilegious church- "robbers, and such as have made themselves fat with the "blood of men's souls, and the utter ruin of the Church. "The whole endeavour of which cursed generation, ever
347 "since the beginning of her Majesty's reign, hath tended "no other way than to make a sure hand to keep the "Church in bondage; that, being bound in their hands, "it should not dare, for fear of being murdered, to seek for "liberty. Of these men contained within the number of "proud and ambitious Prelates, our Lord Archbishop and "Bishops, godless and murdering non-presidents, profane "and ignorant, idle shepherds, and dumb dogs, I will say
Rev. vi. 10. "no more in this place but this, *How long, Lord, just and* "*true*, dost thou suffer thine inheritance to be polluted and
Psal. lxv. 2. "laid waste by this uncircumcised generation? *O thou* "*that hearest the prayer*, let the supplication which thy "children have made before thee day and night (for the "removing of this our plague) be at length effectual in "thine ears; and with speed thrust out these caterpillars, "as one man, out of our Church: and let the memory of "them be forgotten in Israel for ever. So be it, Lord, for "thy Son Christ's sake." The reader may observe, while I am repeating these words, (deliberately penned and published,) what extreme malice the poor Archbishop had to deal with; and infer what courage, and prudence, and resolution he was endued with, in struggling, and that so successfully at last, against these bigots.

And the Council.

Nor doth he spare the Queen's Privy Counsellors themselves. "As for the Queen's Council, (as he added,) be- "cause these atheists [as he termed the Clergy] are be-

" come great, waxen rich, and grown into favour with our " Council, and such as bear chief authority under her Ma- " jesty; let them be assured they procure unto their souls " swift and heavy damnation, without speedy and earnest " repentance. And because our Council may be truly said " to delight in this injury and violent oppression of God's " saints and ministers; therefore, whensoever the Lord " shall come to search for the sins of England with lights, " as Zephany saith, he will surely visit our Council with " a heavy plague; because undoubtedly they are frozen in " their dregs, and persuade their own hearts, that the Lord " will do neither good or evil, in the defence of his messen- " gers and children. And then shall they feel what it is " to wink at (much more to procure) the oppression of the " Church of Christ. I will not in this place charge our " Council with that which followeth in Jeremy, upon the " place afore alleged; namely, that they execute no judg- " ment, no, not the judgment of the fatherless: but this I " will say, that they cannot possibly deal truly in the mat- " ter of justice between man and man; insomuch as they " bend all their forces to bereave Christ Jesus of that right " which he hath in the government of his Church. The " which ungodly and wicked course, as they have held on " ever since the beginning of her Majesty's reign, so at " this day they have taken greater boldness, and grown " more rebellious against the Lord and his cause, than ever " they were: insomuch as their Honours, in token of their " thankfulness to him that hath exalted them, dare now " charge the cause of reformation to be an enemy to our " State; and such as favour the same, to be unquiet and " factious men, disturbers of common peace and quietness, " and sowers of sedition among the subjects."

Anno 1590.

Chap. i. 12.

Chap. v. 28.

He further telleth the reader in this Preface the occasion of his writing the said book; (and here he hath a fling at the Archbishop;) *viz.* that he and some other of the Privy Council had sent out a writing to seize him, wheresoever he might be found. " That within these few months, " a warrant under six counsellors' hands had been given

Order from the Council to seize Penry.

BOOK IV. Anno 1590.

" out from their Honours, and sent by public messengers " unto all such places of the land as there was any likeli- " hood of his abode. And that the effect thereof was this; " that if men had not hitherto known so much, their Ho- " nours, whose names were thereunto adjoined, did assure " them of their own knowledge, that one John Penry was " an enemy to the State." [*So Amaziah knew Amos to be a traitor;* added by Penry himself in the margin.] " And " that if they had not taken him for such heretofore, they " should now take knowledge and information thereof from " them; and so henceforth to account of him. In which
348 " regard they should be so far from aiding, comforting, and " relieving of him, that if they could by any means appre- " hend or lay hold of him, they should therein do her Ma- " jesty good service."

His insolent language of the Archbishop.

This was the warrant, as Penry set it down; and then added, " That he would not name the names of any of " these, out of the reverence he bore to her Majesty's go- " vernment, that should thus lend their shoulders thus to " uphold the kingdom of darkness, save only John Cant, " as he writeth himself, (saith he;) whom, both in respect " of his antichristian prelacy over God's Church, and for " the notable hatred which he hath ever bewrayed towards " the Lord and his truth, I think one of the dishonourablest " creatures under heaven, and accordingly do account of " him; desiring the Lord, if it be his will, to convert both " him and all others the detected enemies of Sion, that " their souls may be saved; or if he hath appointed them " to damnation, and meaneth no otherwise to be glorified " by them, speedily to disburden the earth of such repro- " bate castaways."

Another book of his, called, An Humble Motion.

There was another book of his bound up with the former: which was, *An Humble Motion, with submission, unto the Right Honourable Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council; wherein is laid open to be considered, how necessary it were for the good of this land, and the Queen's Majesty's safety, that ecclesiastical Discipline were reformed after the Word of God; and how easily there might be provision*

for a learned Ministry. In the discourse to the reader, (which is pretended to be done by another hand,) the writer tells us, "that in the beginning of this tract, (which "by providence light into his hands,) the declaration of "Christ's discipline is briefly yet plainly set down, and "plentifully proved by those testimonies of Scripture, that "after many assaults did confirm the cause unanswerable. "Besides, that hence appeared the equity, easiness, bene-"fit, and necessity thereof, even in reason and policy, for "the safety of her Majesty, the peace of the land, the "rooting out of Popery, and all other ungodliness; and "that by such reasons as answer the foolish objections of "ignorant politics: and in such manner laid open and "urged, as might satisfy all that were not besotted with "wilful ignorance, and that stirred the turbulent affections "of none, &c. So that whosoever was the penner of it, it "gave him matter to increase his persuasion (in that which "he had long before conceived) that the Lord meant cer-"tainly, either to establish this same sceptre of his Son "Christ Jesus in a glorious manner among us; or to make "England an example of his vengeance for rejecting of it, "&c. And that God had cleared it so evidently, by divers "and sundry sorts of handling the same, that no man of "what state soever (if he desired to know it) could want "wherewith to satisfy his expectation." And then he promised to shew the books that had been writ in that behalf, using these words with confidence enough:

Anno 1590.

Puritan books specified and boasted of.

"If thou desirest to have it disputed against a professed "and bitter enemy thereof, [*viz.* of their discipline,] thou "hast the first and second *Reply* of T. C. [Tho. Cart-"wright] against D. W. [Dr. Whitgift.] If thou wouldest "hear it handled in a sweet and Latin style, the *Ecclesi-"astical Discipline* is able to content thee. If thou be un-"learned, and desire the same course in thy mother tongue, "behold! the learned discourse, (which Dr. Bridges assay-"ing to confute, and hath confirmed,) the sermon upon "Rom. xii. &c. If thou desire to see it laid open and con-"cluded in scholastical manner, *The Demonstration* doth

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590.

"that way satisfy thee. And lastly, if thou wouldest see "it freed from the slanders that are against it, answer the "objections that may be and are coined to disgrace it, "and understand how it overturneth not, neither in sub- "stance altereth any tolerable commonwealth, but is the "only stay and prop of every good policy,—this present "treatise promiseth and notably performeth the same."

He ended with a threatening, as was usual in their writings, in this tenor: "Though the Lord do not vouchsafe "this generation an honour so excellent, (as this of Christ's "discipline,) yet take thou heed that thou be no means of "keeping it back. For if thou be a Minister, and give thy "heart, hand, or countenance against it; if a magistrate, "and do any way discountenance it; if a private person,
349 "and cease to pray for it, or live a life unworthy of it;" [as though the platform were infallibly true, and all religion and Gospel depended upon it;] "thou shalt answer at the "day of judgment, and be convicted as an enemy to the "kingdom of Christ Jesus, and an occasion that in thy "time he reign not over this generation."

Penry's answer to Dr. Bancroft's sermon.

There was yet another book which this liberal writer, Penry, threw out about the year 1589, and that was an answer to a sermon preached at St. Paul's, (as it seems,) afterwards printed, from that text, *Beloved, believe not every spirit; but try the spirits whether they be of God: for many false prophets are gone out into the world.* The said answer bore this title, *A brief Discovery of the Untruths and Slanders against the true Government of the Church of Christ, contained in a Sermon preached the 8th of February*, 1588, *by Dr. Bancroft, and since that time set forth in print*, &c. Which answer, it seems, was only to serve until a larger confutation of the sermon should be published. To meet with Dr. Bancroft's text against them, he presented the reader in the title page with a verse or two out of one of St. Peter's Epistles, to be applied to him and the rest of the friends of the hierarchy: *But there were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you; which privily shall*

bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that hath bought them, and bring upon themselves swift damnation. And many shall follow their damnable ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of. And through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you: whose judgment, long ago, is not far off.

His language uttered of the Fathers of the Church.

The imbittered spirit of the man against the Bishops and governors of the Church appeared still more in the entertainment he gave to his *godly indifferent reader:* "Those that will needs be our pastors and spiritual fathers "are become beasts, as the Prophet Jeremy saith, and "have not sought the Lord. And therefore what marvel "is it, though we poor sheep be miserably dispersed, not "knowing whither to turn us for any succour; our guides "have not only misled us, but they are become wolves in-"stead of shepherds: so that we dare not shew ourselves, "for fear of their teeth, to seek any pasture, but the bare "feeding which they have laid before us. And if we should "open our mouths to sue to the true shepherds and over-"seers indeed, unto whose direction we ought to be com-"mitted," [*viz.* the eldership, according to the new platform,] "the rage of these wolves is such, (thou seest,) as "this endeavour would almost be the price of our life. "For if this request were once granted, they full well per-"ceive they should not have so much as a place of a door-"keeper within the sheepfold of the Lord." [For by their platform all the revenues of bishoprics and cathedral churches were to be converted to other uses.] "And there-"fore they every way labour to keep us in bondage: they "hide the truth, and will not suffer others to see the same. "If the Lord in mercy do open the eyes of any man, he "must not for his life make it known that he hath seen "the light, much less walk in the same, &c. They seem "at this day to have greater liberty to wound the Church," [many of the chief Puritans being now prosecuted for sedition,] "than any they had since the beginning of her "Majesty's reign, &c. They make use of the time and the "opportunity which they have gotten, to keep the truth

BOOK IV.

"and the Church in bondage. Wonder not at it; for this "is the very hour and power of darkness, &c. And when Anno 1590. "God hath accomplished his work in mount Sion and "Jerusalem, then let them, and whosoever favour any of "the offspring of Romish Babel, their mother, take heed "unto themselves." Under the year 1593. we shall hear more of this angry writer, and of his end.

An argument between Mr. Treasurer and the Archbishop about Bishops' superiority.

As the new platform men had decried Bishops, as contrary to the discipline required by the word of God, so they made great use of Sir Francis Knollys, (of whom before,) a Privy Counsellor, and one much concerned for the Queen's safety; by suggesting to him an argument against that order, taken from policy, for him as a statesman to manage: which was, that the *superiority* of Bishops could by no means consist with the Queen's sovereignty. They urged to him the great danger of Bishops upon that account, that is, in case they would not acknowledge their authority, as Bishops, to be purely human, and of the Queen's gift. For this matter now did that courtier charge our Archbishop, and required absolutely of him a relinquishing of that opinion, as he tended the Queen's safety. And against this superiority this Counsellor himself had written a discourse, as we heard before under the last year, which he called his *Notes*, and sent them to the Lord Treasurer, and other great men; endeavouring, by this means, to make them cool to the present episcopacy, and to abate their opinion of the Bishops: insisting upon this consequence; "That it must needs follow, that her Ma- "jesty is not supreme governor over the Clergy, if so be "that our said Bishops be not under-governors to her "Majesty, but superior governors from an higher claim "than directly from her Majesty. And to the said *Notes* "of his he required the Archbishop, by the Lord Treasurer, "to answer, or to depart from that opinion; telling that "Lord, how plainly the Archbishop, in his book against "Cartwright, had claimed in the right of all the Bishops "a superiority belonging to them over all the inferior "Clergy, from God's own ordinance, to the popish injury

" of her Majesty's supreme government. And that it was " no sufficient recompense of the Archbishop, to say barely, " that he did not claim at this present a superiority over " the inferior Clergy from God's own ordinance, unless " the said Archbishop would also retract his claim of su- " periority from God's own ordinance, set down in his " printed book, entitled, *Dr. Whitgift against Cartwright*, " as before was said. And that without the which retract- " ation, her Majesty's supreme government could neither " be salved nor preserved, as he thought. For that in his " opinion, the faithful duty of English subjects went still " backward, and the increase of recusants went still for- " ward, to the danger of her Majesty's safety continually, " by the said claim of superiority openly printed, and " sometimes openly preached, and by the open urging of " subscription against the law," [as he was pleased to affirm.]

Presses the Lord Treasurer to suppress the Bishops' superiority;

He proceeded further in his discourse with the Lord Treasurer, " humbly beseeching him, in the fear of God, " that according to his great wisdom it would please him " to have a zealous care for her Majesty's safety; thereby " to avoid her extreme danger, so violently intended and " laboured by the Pope, the King of Spain, and by their " confederates, then in that dangerous time. And that his " opinion was, that the only way to save her Majesty from " the danger intended aforesaid, was to abate the ambition " and covetousness of Bishops; by making them to ac- " knowledge that they had no superiority over the inferior " Clergy: granting them superiority by the statute of the " 25th year of King Henry VIII. and the same renewed " again in the first year of her Majesty. By which statute " the Bishops were barred from offending of her Majesty's " prerogative royal, and from offending of the laws and " customs of the realm: whereby the said Bishops were " not only subject to the supreme government of her Ma- " jesty, but also subject and answerable to the Counsellors " of estate in that behalf; contrary to their unbridled " claims of superiority, and contrary to their unbridled

BOOK IV.

"practice of urging of subscription to their unlawful "articles."

Anno 1590. Making it treasonable and tyrannical.

This he wrote the last day of March, 1590. And still this zealous gentleman went on, from time to time, in the urging of this his argument against the Bishops' superiority, in matter of policy. Thus in another letter, written to the said Lord in the month of August, upon occasion of the book that came out in behalf of Bishops, (which I shall mention by and by,) he expressed his mind thus: "That "he sought not his own ambition, nor his own covetous- "ness, as the Bishops were accused to do, but he sought "her Majesty's safety; which could not otherwise (he "said) be continued, but by the maintenance of her su- "preme government against the false-claimed superiority "of Bishops from God's own institution. For the pride of "the Bishops' claim, as he added, must be pulled down, "and made subject to her Majesty's supreme government.
351 "And that they must confess that they had no superiority "of government at all, but by commission from her Ma- "jesty: for otherwise their claimed superiority is treason- "able to her, and tyrannous over the inferior Clergy."

A Reconciliation, a book in behalf of the Bishops, comes forth.

While Mr. Treasurer was thus confident in his *Notes* against episcopal superiority, out comes a book written by another lay gentleman, and a courtier, and of the Queen's Chamber, as Mr. Treasurer was, *viz.* Anthony Marten, Sewer of her Majesty's most honourable Chamber; a man of good learning and peaceable principles. The book was written very modestly, in behalf of the present episcopal government, and with a design to reconcile all the Clergy and Pastors of the Church to a perfect unity in government; and to persuade the people to give ear to no other voice (as he wrote in his epistle dedicatory to the Queen) than her Majesty and the laws of the Church commanded: and which was the reason he entitled his book, *A Reconciliation of all the Pastors and Clergy of this Church of England;* setting this good sentence of St. Paul in the title page, *Be of one mind; live in peace: and the God of love and peace shall be with you.* As the Puri-

tans affected other places of Scripture to countenance their contentions: as that for one, very frequently set before their books and libels, *For Sion's sake I will not hold my peace.* Anno 1590.

This book created some molestation to Mr. Treasurer Knollys: and what his mind was concerning it I choose to give in his own words, as he soon after wrote it in a letter to the Lord Treasurer. Mr. Treasurer's judgment of it.

" He confessed to him, that his " study had been a long time to look to the preservation " of her Majesty's safety, which was and had been mar- " vellously impugned; not by foreign enemies only, but " by most inward enemies to her Majesty's supreme go- " vernment. That upon Wednesday last, Mr. Marten, the " Sewer, had sent to him a book of his own making; " wherein he pretended a reconciliation of the Clergy; but " that indeed the book was no other but a parasitical pro- " moter of the ambitious and covetous government, by the " claimed superiority of Bishops: and that he found that " he had craftier counsel in the penning of his book than " was contained in his own head; although he thought the " penning thereof to be his own doing. But that when he " came to shew the reasons of the Presbyteries that were " adversaries to the Bishops' claimed superiority, the an- " swers that he made to those reasons were the answers " that Dr. Whitgift made against Cartwright. But that " he did not allow the Bishops' claimed superiority, which " Mr. Marten did boldly, he would not say traitorously, " affirm to be God's institution first; and in a second de- " gree he said also, it was from the Queen's Majesty's au- " thority and allowance. But, said Mr. Treasurer, his put- " ting the Bishops' authority and superiority to be first " from God's institution, and to be secondly from her Ma- " jesty's authority, smelt of treason against her Majesty's " supreme government. But he did not desire to be a judge " in this case; although there was no cause, he said, why " he should be partial.

" He knew, as he added, that Mr. Marten in words, in " the Bishops' behalf, did seem to give great submission

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590.

" sometimes to her Majesty's authority and supreme go-
" vernment; but that it was but in a second degree: be-
" cause the first, and in the first degree, he claimed for the
" Bishops a superiority of government from God's own in-
" stitution. The which being allowed to be true, it did
" deprive her Majesty of power, to take that superiority of
" government from them; and also, that if their superior-
" ity were first from God, then Bishops were not under-
" governors to her Majesty: and so consequently her
" Majesty was not supreme governor over them by that
" rule. In short, this, in his opinion, was the highway to
" Popery."

Motions a public disputation of University men about Bishops.

And then he motioned to the Lord to whom he wrote all this, a public disputation upon this controversy; as the platformers, in much confidence, often called for, to make their cause the more plausible. He wished " it might
" please God to move her Majesty's heart, by his Lord-
" ship's good means, and in respect of her Majesty's own
" safety and maintenance of her own royal dignity, that
352 " this controversy might be discussed by the common con-
" sent of the most learned University men: to whom the
" Bishops must needs give place, for the matter of true
" learning: because the chief Divines of the University
" were not yet (as he gave the reason) corrupt with worldly
" promotions; neither were they partial as yet, nor touched
" with ambition and covetousness, as the Bishops' claimed
" superiority must needs be." This was all writ from Greenwich, August the 14th.

The Queen angry with him for meddling with the Bishops' power.

Thus earnest was this good Privy Counsellor in this cause: though not long before, *viz.* in the month of May, the Queen was displeased with him for meddling in this matter of the constitution of her Bishops; and, as it seems, commanded his absence. Whereupon (to take our leave of this great patriot of that party) I will transcribe an humble letter wrote by him to her Majesty. " Mine most
" gracious Sovereign. Although I be unworthy to be trust-
" ed, yet I am not unworthy to be tried a true accuser or
" a false, in matters concerning the safety of your Majes-

" ty's crown and dignity[a]. I have found my old error; " that is to say, that I have not heretofore (in weighty " matters) used such temperancy of speech as wiser men " have done to your Majesty: neither have I suppressed " mine abundance of affection, (in so weighty causes,) as " wiser men have done, and should do. Now, to avoid " these mine old errors, I do most humbly crave it at your " Majesty's hands at this present, that it will please you " that my Lord Treasurer may be pleased to be a faithful " reporter and true dealer between your Majesty and me; " and also between me and such as I shall accuse, for in- " juring your Majesty's safety, and of your Majesty's su- " preme government, so sore presently assaulted by the " Pope and the King of Spain, and their Jesuitical adhe- " rents." As though he had the same apprehensions from the superiority of Bishops.

[a] It appears hence, the Queen's displeasure was grounded upon his meddling with the Bishops' authority; in which he bore out himself, as consulting for the Queen's safety.

Nor was this the first time the Queen had checked him. For some years before, at Windsor, she commanded him that he should not deal with the Puritans, as she called them; because, she said, she had committed the government of religion to her Bishops only. Unto which commandment he reckoned himself to be obedient, however afterwards he fell upon the Bishops' superiority. For, as he told the Lord Treasurer, since that time he had dealt no more with matters of religion than appertained to her Majesty's safety, consisting in the true preservation of her Majesty's supreme government. The which, he said, might best be called matter of her Majesty's policy, and not matter of religion: although the Jesuits called all their treasons matters of religion.

Commanded by her not to deal with the Puritans.

The relation of these things will not be looked upon as any going out of the way; since the Archbishop was personally, and his order expressly, so much concerned therein.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. IV.

Anno 1590. 353

Report of a Presbytery in St. John's college, Cambridge, examined. Dr. Whitaker, the Master, denies it to the Vice-Chancellor. The Chancellor of the University consults with the Archbishop about it. Articles concerning Presbyteries and Classes to be disowned by those of St. John's: drawn up by the Archbishop. Dr. Whitaker vindicates himself from false reports. The Dean of Lincoln convented before the Archbishop, for words used in his sermon. The Archbishop's letter thereupon to the residentiaries. The Archbishop to the Bishops, to certify the Clergy's arms. Visitations. Public prayers appointed.

Report of a Presbytery in St. John's college inquired into.

IT further awakened the Archbishop, and the rest of the Queen's ecclesiastical Commissioners, when it was told them, that many in the University of Cambridge were carried away with the Disciplinarian principles: and this news brought even in the month of October, when Cartwright's cause was before them, and where he was once a member, and had still there no small interest. The report was, that a *presbytery* was set up in St. John's college, and Dr. Whitaker, the Master thereof, was in the same. The Archbishop, as it seems, acquainted the Lord Treasurer, who was High Chancellor of that University, with it; who soon sent to his Vice-Chancellor there, to inquire into this matter. And Whitaker shewed himself much displeased at the report, as though himself had been a party therein, or privy to it. For the Heads of the University presently meeting together, to make search into this pretended *presbytery*, found it a misreport: and on the 20th of October wrote their letters to the said Chancellor, signed by Dr. Preston, Vice-Chancellor, and six Heads besides; informing him, that Dr. Whitaker had repaired to him, the Vice-Chancellor: to which he signified his receipt of letters, containing a complaint of a *presbytery* to be exercised in St. John's college: a matter which himself and they all

took to be of very great importance, and so of no less discredit to their whole University, if it should be found true. Informing the said Chancellor further, that thereupon he had called unto him, for his assistance, Dr. Duport, Dr. Jegon, Dr. Chaderton, Dr. Stil, Dr. Goad, and Dr. Barwel, for some good course to be taken. At which time (as he added) Dr. Whitaker, being present, denied the truth of the complaint, or of his being any way privy to it. And further he moved and desired, that all the society of the Fellows of that college might be examined upon their oaths concerning their knowledge therein, upon certain interrogatories drawn for that purpose. But that they, entering into consultation therein, thought good rather to forbear that cause, until his Lordship's pleasure were first made known unto them; with directions from him, whether his officer, the Vice-Chancellor, should judicially be possessed thereof; seeing his Lordship had already taken knowledge of it. Yet in the mean time (as the letter ran) they thought it their parts to signify unto him, that none of them did ever hear any fame or speech in the University of any such *presbytery*, or any such disorderly meeting there, before this present; and that they were persuaded there was no such matter.

Anno 1590.

Dr. Whitaker clears himself and the college.

Nor was this all; but in a letter of the same date, thirty-four Fellows of this college of St. John's certified to the said Lord, that whereas they were given to understand, that complaint had been made to his Honour that there had been or was a *presbytery* within their college; they did hereby certify, that they knew not that there was any of their said college in any such *presbytery*, as was reported. And thus much they and every of them, whose names were underwritten, were and would be ready to testify by virtue of their corporal oaths, when they should be thereunto lawfully called. And yet after all this, the charge, or somewhat like it, was likely enough to be true, though the Master and many of the house were ignorant of it: and that, because a *classis* or *assembly* had been holden there, as was sworn by one of these Puritan Ministers,

Divers Fellows vindicate themselves.

354

BOOK IV.

Thomas Stone by name, a man of reputation and honesty among them: who, being examined in several interrogatories upon his oath which he had taken, did shew at what places the *classes* of these platformers were kept; namely, in Northampton, Kettering, London, and at St. John's college in Cambridge; as appears by his confession extant in Fuller's History. And further, in the examination of William Perkins, another Minister of the *puritanical* faction in Cambridge, under his oath said, that Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Snape, and others not named, met in conference in Cambridge, at St. John's, two years before, about the question of discipline; as I find it among certain authentic papers relating to the said Cartwright and his fellows. The report therefore of a *presbytery* in this college might arise from the *classis* that, more than once, met together there.

Anno 1590. Th. Stone's confession upon oath. Eccles. Hist. b. ix. p. 207.

Bundl. Cartwright.

The Archbishop's concern in this business of St. John's.

Consults with the Lord Treasurer therein.

The Archbishop was not a *neuter* in this University emergence: for he apprehended the great danger of these *presbyteries* and *classis* of Ministers, laboured so much to be set up, and now getting footing in the colleges, and especially in St. John's. Therefore, as the Lord Treasurer, who had such a tender care of that college, consulted with the Archbishop, so he as freely contributed his assistance and advice for the purging of this house. For he saw these new methods of governing the Church took off much from the Queen's supremacy over the Church, when the matters thereof, either for the reformation or correction of errors and heresies, or for making other orders, should be wholly in the power of the ministry; and when the *assemblies* and *synods* of Ministers should meet together, and make laws, and manage causes ecclesiastical, without the chief magistrate's assent and authority. And that the government attempted or challenged by these *presbyteries*, consisting of Doctors, Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, (being unlawful, and contrary to the government received and established,) was dangerous to the state of the realm. And that to set up a *presbytery* or *consistory*, or to constitute any persons with a power to excommunicate or deprive for what cause soever, did support the excommunicating or depriving of the

Queen herself, if they saw cause. Therefore the Archbishop found it necessary to have these University men, by subscribing a declaration, to renounce these tenets, and to own the present Church of England to be a true member of the Church of Christ, and the sacraments and ceremonies of it to be lawful and godly. There is a draught of such an acknowledgment among the Archbishop's papers, to be subscribed for the renouncing of *presbyteries;* which, I do conclude, was for the use of the Fellows of the foresaid college, (in a visitation thereof, which on this occasion was found necessary,) to clear themselves from the suspicion that they lay under of favouring them; and drawn up by the Archbishop, and sent by him to the Lord Treasurer for his approbation: which, it appears, he yielded his allowance of, by several interlinings of his own hand, and by himself also thus indorsed, *The* 4. *Febr.* 1590. *Articles for a general Acknowledgment of the Laws Ecclesiastical.*

Anno 1590.

An acknowledgment for those of St. John's to subscribe.

This acknowledgment and confession was as followeth: The form thereof.

" We whose names are subscribed, each man for himself,
" do unfeignedly acknowledge and confess, that all juris-
" diction, privilege, and superiority, which by any spiritual
" and ecclesiastical power or authority heretofore hath
" been, or lawfully may by the laws of this realm be ex-
" ercised or used, for the visitation, reformation, and cor-
" rection of the ecclesiastical state, and persons within her
" Majesty's dominions, and for the reformation or correc-
" tion of all errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, offences, con-
" tempts, and enormities within the same, are united to the 355
" imperial crown of England; and that her Majesty hath
" the same power and authority so united to the crown,
" as well by God's laws, as the laws and statutes of this
" realm.

" That by God's laws, and the laws of this realm, there
" ought not to be any synods, conventicles, or assemblies,
" for the concluding or establishing of any laws, articles,
" ordinances, or constitutions, to be executed, used, or put
" in use within this realm, in or for any spiritual or eccle-

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590.

" siastical matters or causes, or over any persons whatso-
" ever, otherwise than by the Queen's Majesty's assent,
" and by virtue of her Highness' authority. And that all
" synods, conventicles, assemblies, and attempts for any
" innovation or alteration to be made within this realm,
" without her Majesty's authority and assent, *or lawful*
" *authority derived from her Majesty*[a], of or for any ec-
" clesiastical laws, or *ecclesiastical* government, are sedi-
" tious and unlawful.

[a] L. Treasurer's addition.

" That the ecclesiastical government now received and
" established by her Majesty's authority, *and by the laws*
" *of the realm*[b], in the Church of England, is lawful and
" allowable by the word of God, *and not repugnant*[c]. And
" that the government challenged, devised, or attempted
" to be executed by any *presbytery* or church assembly,
" consisting of Doctors, Pastors, Elders, and Deacons, or
" of any of them, or of any such like, not warranted by the
" laws of this realm, is not only unlawful, but also very
" dangerous for the state of this realm.

[b] Added, L. Treasurer.

[c] Added, *ut supr.*

" We do likewise acknowledge, that it is seditious and
" ungodly to teach or maintain, that there be, or ought to
" be, any potentate, officers, magistrates, or any such as
" assume or take upon them to be, *or to make*[d], a pres-
" bytery or consistory, or any other persons, of whatsoever
" quality or degree, that have or ought to have any power
" to excommunicate, remove, or deprive her Majesty, for
" any cause whatsoever, or to command her subjects to
" withdraw their obedience from her.

[d] *ut supr.*

" We acknowledge the Church of England, now estab-
" lished by the laws of England, to be a true member of
" the true Church of Christ; and that the sacraments, min-
" istered as they be ordained by the law to be ministered,
" are godly and rightly administered; and the whole order
" of public prayer and ceremonies, therein by law estab-
" lished, to be such as no man ought therefore to make
" any schism, division, or contention in the Church, or to
" withdraw himself from the same." The words and sen-
tences in *Italic* are the Lord Treasurer's insertions.

CHAP. IV.

And here, before I leave this matter touching St. John's college, to vindicate the Master, a learned and pious man, and Public Professor of Divinity in that University, and a good writer against the Church of Rome; notwithstanding clamours raised, he was no back-friend to the Church of England. For I find that the foresaid accusation, with several other false reports and unjust complaints carried to Court against him, brought him up two or three days after, to vindicate himself in person. And upon his coming to Town he despatched a letter, from his lodging at the deanery of St. Paul's, to the University Chancellor, the Lord Burghley; importing, how those that made the complaint of him, seeing him resolved to come up for his necessary defence, and fearing that the complaints made concerning a *presbytery* might easily be disproved, had devised other matters, either touching him, as he said, nothing at all, or else were most frivolous; and yet being heaped up together, he apprehended, might be of some weight. And though he partly foresaw the inconvenience, as he added, of a new visitation, [a thing it seems by some members of the college desired,] which was the only thing which, he said, they shot at; adding, that he did willingly submit himself to what order his Lordship should take for due trial of this matter. And then he desired a writing, which was exhibited against him to that Lord, that he might briefly set down his answers to every particular point. This he wrote October the 24th, 1590. Subscribing, *Your Lordship's to serve in the Lord, Will. Whitaker.*

Anno 1590. Dr. Whitaker clears himself to the Lord Treasurer.

And but some months before, this good man was fain again to vindicate himself of another most slanderous lie, that fled as far as the Court against him; namely, that he should forbid an oration to be made on the Queen's day last, in praise of her Majesty's government; which was the cause of another letter to his friend, the said Lord. "That "such a report should to such, and in such a place, be re- "ported of him, being so utterly untrue, and, as he was "assured, void of all colour of truth, he could not but mar- "vel much. His humble suit therefore to his Honour was,

356

Falsely reported to have forbidden an oration on the Queen's day.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590.

" not to give credence to any such report, if peradventure " by some means he might hear thereof: and also to re- " press it, that it went no further to his discredit, which " some perhaps sought by these sinister slights. That the " truth was, he never forbade nor hindered such oration: " and that they had an oration in their college-hall on that " night, pronounced by one whom he, Dr. Whitaker, ap- " pointed himself for that purpose, (whose name was He- " blethwaite, then a Fellow of that college.) At which ora- " tion he was present, and their whole company, and divers " of other colleges, whom he saw, and could name, if need " required. And that the action was solemn, with bonfires " in both the courts of their college; as also it hath been " ever since he came to the college. That the report pro- " ceeded from some envious body, unknown to him. Con- " cluding, that his poor credit, that he laboured to keep, " he humbly recommended to his Lordship's honourable " protection: beseeching God long to continue that happy " and blessed government, and his Lordship in health and " honour, to the great good of the Church and common- " wealth. Written from St. John's college in Cambridge, " the 14th of May, 1590. Subscribing, *Your Honour's in* " *the Lord to command, Will. Whitaker.*"

False doctrine charged upon the Dean of Lincoln; informed of to the Archbishop.

As these matters before concerned the government and discipline of the Church, so there was another matter now lying before the Archbishop and ecclesiastical commission; namely, concerning *doctrine;* some very bold expressions uttered in the cathedral church of Lincoln, by the Dean thereof, giving the occasion: who, by reading some foreign Divines of great name, and confiding over much to their theology and writings, had vented in his sermon or sermons a very offensive and blasphemous opinion concerning our Saviour Christ, as though he were *the greatest sinner in the world;* upon this ground, as it seems, because it is said of him in Scripture, *that he bore the sins of all mankind:* and so he might understand that article of the Creed, *He descended into hell,* to be of his enduring hell torments, as some Protestants abroad then interpreted it. These

novel notions sounding so heterodox and unsound, the residentiaries of that church, *viz.* Dr. Robertson, Dr. Barfoot, and Mr. Garth, could not but send up an information, Anno 1590. against the said Dean in several articles, to the Archbishop in commission this summer. Who appeared before him; but utterly denied that he meant to lay any such imputation of sin upon the person of Christ, as these laid to his charge; nor intended any thing he had preached against any doctrine of our Church: begging pardon before the Commissioners for any unwary expressions he had used, and promising to mention no more the like. Upon this the prudent Archbishop thought it convenient to make no more words of it, for the good and quiet of the Church: which otherwise might bring a scandal upon it, if such a dignified person in this Church should be touched with such errors: although he and his brethren in commission with him, utterly condemned such manner of speeches of the person of Christ, as might give occasion to any to think so basely and so wickedly of that immaculate Lamb of God. This, with what was further done with this Dean, and what grave and godly advice the Archbishop gave to the residentiaries of the said church, I had rather shew, by exemplifying his letter to be perused at large by the reader. Which was in these words:

357 His letter, shewing what was done with him by the commission. MSS. comit. Salop. in Offic. Armor.

" *Salutem in Christo.* I was desirous that the contro-
" versy lately risen between Mr. Dean and you, by occa-
" sion of his sermons, might have been ended by your Or-
" dinary, [Bishop Wickham,] the rather to avoid that of-
" fence which generally might be taken, by the publishing
" and prosecuting publicly of that question; especially,
" seeing the Dean doth utterly renounce the error in doc-
" trin, wherewith he is charged: altho' I cannot but in
" my heart mislike the words, and his maner of teach-
" ing in that point. There are controversies enough in the
" Church of England. And they are not wel advised, that
" wil give or take occasion of mo: and especially and
" above al others, to give any suspicion that any man

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590.

" should think so basely and so wickedly of that immacu-
" late Lamb Jesus Christ. But seeing my desire that way
" could take no place, I have my self, together with my
" Lord of London, the Deans of Westminster and Paul's,
" Dr. Aubrey, and Dr. Bancroft, taken knowledg of the
" matter, and thorowly examined your Dean in al the ar-
" ticles wherewith he is charged. And notwithstanding
" that we al with one consent did and do wholly mislike,
" and in our conscience condemn, the maner of speeches
" used in that sermon, and do think it intolerable for any
" man to use the like; yet because we find the Dean in
" substance of doctrin to differ from us in no point touch-
" ing that article, and to promise that he wil hereafter
" forbear such like kind or maner of speaking of the per-
" son of Christ; altho he found the same in Luther and
" Calvin and some others, whom we in our judgments
" therefore do mislike; and for that also we are assured,
" that when occasion shal be offered unto him, he wil no-
" tify to the world, that he is no way spotted with such
" kind of heretical or erroneous doctrin: we have thought
" it good to rest in that persuasion; and to end the mat-
" ter; knowing the same to be most fit and convenient
" for the good and quiet of the Church, which could not
" but suffer great ignominy, if any man of his calling
" should justly be touched with such an error.

" And therefore I, upon whom such burthens do espe-
" cially ly, most heartily pray you to use him brotherly
" and friendly, and to conceive of him as I my self do;
" who have had ful conference with him, and do know his
" mind and judgment in this cause. Requiring you like-
" wise, that if either he or any man else shal hereafter
" use the like words, and so give the like offence, with al
" speed to impart your advertisement thereof: that I
" may deal therein according to my duty. And because
" you shal not doubt of my opinion in this matter, I would
" have you to understand, that I think Luther, in saying,
" Christ was *omnium maximus latro, homicida, adulter,*
" *fur, sacrilegus, blasphemus*, &c. and whosoever follow-

" eth him therein, or any other, writing or speaking so in-
" temperatly and unadvisedly, do write and speak contrary
" to the phrase of Scripture and to the truth, and indeed
" blasphemously. For altho the Scripture teacheth us,
" that Christ was reputed such an one, yet to say simply
" that he was so, or that he had sin, or committed sin, or
" can properly or simply be called a sinner, no Christian
" man wil dare to affirm or justify. This is my resolution,
" which I would have you and al men to know. And those
" that shal impugn this, or teach to the contrary, I wil
" prosecute with extremity, and to the extremity. And
" so once again praying you to seek peace and insue it,
" and friendly confer one with another, before you enter
" into judgment or condemnation, I commit you to the
" tuition of Almighty God. From Lambhith, the 29th of
" June, 1590.

" Your assured loving friend,
" Jo. Cantuar."

358 While the Archbishop was thus employed in maintaining the Church of England and Clergy thereof, so vigorously opposed by a strong party, his care was also, that the conformable Clergy might be continued in the good opinion of the Queen and State. And therefore he provided that they might be ready with the rest of the Queen's subjects in this dangerous time, to send forth their horse and foot with arms; as was partly shewn before. Now also this year the nation was upon their guard; and the forces of each county here mustered; and an account thereof sent up to Court, that the strength of the kingdom might be the better known and relied upon. It was convenient that the Clergy's arms also should be known, and their number and strength likewise certified. For which cause the Lords of the Privy Council sent this letter to the Archbishop:

The Archbishop's care for the Clergy's arms.

" After our very harty commendations to your good
" Lordship. Whereas there hath been order given by her

The Council to the Archbishop

BOOK IV.

Anno 1590. for the Clergy's providing arms. Regist. Whitg. fol. 163. B.

" Majesty's direction for several musters and views to be " made of al the hable men with their armour and furni- " ture, within the several counties of the realm; which is " already performed, and the certificates returned: those " of the Clergy's remaining only uncertified: and for as " much as we think it fit her Majesty be made acquainted, " as wel with the one as the other; that she may know " and understand the ful strength of the whole realm: " we have thought good to desire your Lordship, with " some diligence, to write your letters to al the Bishops, " to send forthwith unto you the particular certificate of " the horses and foot, armed and furnished by the Clergy " in their several dioceses. Whereof we pray your Lord- " ship there may be no default. And so bid your Lord- " ship right hartily farewel, the 11th of October, 1590. " When your Lordship shal have received the certificates, " we pray you to send them unto us.

" Your Lordship's assured loving friends,

" Chr. Hatton, Canc.	Hen. Cobham.
" Will. Burghley.	Tho. Heneage.
" H. Hunsdon.	J. Wolley."

Within a few days the diligent Archbishop sent forth his orders to all the Bishops, to take special care of this matter in their several dioceses. Whose circulary letter to them ran in this tenor:

The Archbishop to the Bishops, in pursuance of the former letter. Regist. Whitg.

" After my very hearty commendations to your good " Lordship, I send unto your Lordship the copy of a letter " lately sent unto me from the Lords and others of her " Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; whereby your " Lordship may see her Highness' gracious direction to " know the readiness and strength of her whole realm. " And to that end it is already certified on the state of the " several shires of the realm in that behalf, saving the " Clergy: these are heartily to pray and require your " Lordship immediately upon the receipt hereof to con- " sider upon the contents of these inclosed: and accord-

" ingly, with all convenient speed, to view all the armour " and furniture of all the Clergy within your diocese, and " of the able men appointed therewith to serve: and there- " upon forthwith to send unto me a true and perfect certi- " ficate thereof under your seal: and how also yourself is " furnished. That the same may be sent from me to the " Lords, according to the meaning of their Lordships' said " letter. And herein praying your Lordship to have such " care as appertaineth, I heartily bid your Lordship fare- " well. From Lambeth the 19th of October.

" Your loving brother in Christ,
" Jo. Cant."

359 This year the Archbishop held a visitation for the vacant diocese of Ely. The articles of visitation were the same with those mentioned before in the visitation of his own diocese of Canterbury.

Visits the diocese of Ely.

Likewise the diocese of Landaff was visited by the Archbishop, beginning October 15, void by the natural death of William Blethyn. The Commissaries appointed by the Archbishop to exercise ordinary jurisdiction there, were Francis Bevans and William Wood, LL. DD. and Andrew Payn, Clerk, B. A. And before this, there was a visitation of the church and diocese of Landaff; and the articles of inquiry, the same as before, were set down in the visitation of Canterbury.

And the diocese of Landaff.

In the vacancy of the diocese of Bath and Wells, (which happened this year by the death of Thomas Godwin, the late Bishop,) the visitation thereof began November 19; and the commission *ad exercendum*, &c. was given to John Langworth, S. T. P. Archdeacon of Wells, Philip Bisse, S. T. P. Archdeacon of Taunton, and Gilbert Borne, LL. D.

And of Bath and Wells.

It pleased God to visit the nation this year with two of his temporal judgments, *viz.* a scarcity of provisions and a war. And that with several potent sworn enemies of the Queen, and the true religion professed in her realm. Who had entered into a holy league (as they called it) against

Prayers appointed by the Archbishop in this dangerous year.

BOOK IV.

both. These judgments called the people of the land to humiliation and prayer. And the Archbishop very seasonAnno 1590. ably caused to be set forth suitable devotions for that purpose, for prayer and fasting: entitled, *An order for public prayers to be used on Wednesdays and Fridays, in every parish church within the province of Canterbury: convenient for this time. Set forth by authority.* It was printed by Charles Barker, the Queen's printer. And in one place of the book is the coat of arms of the see of Canterbury impaling Whitgift's arms. The Preface (which perhaps was drawn up by the Archbishop) began with a relation of God's great mercies towards this realm: "That the fa-
"therly care and goodness, which Almighty God by his
"prophets in many places declared unto his people, had
"never appeared more abundantly towards any nation,
"than of late years it had done towards the realm of Eng-
"land. For when we were (as the Preface proceeded)
"under thraldom and captivity, under the tyranny of
"Rome, and carried away with the false worshipping of
"God, he by our gracious Sovereign delivered us. He
"planted the elect and chosen vine of his Gospel among
"us by law and authority. He raised up servants to dig
"and delve about this vineyard, that it might prosper.
"He hath continually fenced us from our enemies on all
"sides by his gracious and mighty providence, beyond the
"reach of man's policy. He hath revealed their conspi-
"racies, defeated their purposes, and made frustrate their
"counsels and devices. He hath erected a watch-tower
"of wise and godly government: he hath shed down from
"heaven and blessed us with his manifold graces, as well
"of spiritual gifts, as of all plenty of earthly creatures."

The Preface.

It was thought fit therefore by the State to urge admonitions and exhortations to the people of the land, to be thankful to God, to repent of their sins, and to be charitable to the poor. "Hence it was ordered and straitly
"charged, that in every parish, where was a preacher al-
"lowed by the Ordinary, every Sunday in some public ser-
"mon, he should put the people in remembrance of God's

Therein direction for preachers.

"exceeding benefits and blessings bestowed upon them "these many years, and for their thankful receiving and "using of the same: and exhorting them to sincere and "true repentance,—together with the outward exercise of "prayer, fasting, and almsdeeds. That the world might "see and testify, that they truly return to the Lord their "God. That in other places, where such sufficient and "discreet preachers were not, the Ministers upon the "same days were to read some part of certain homilies "then set forth. That the people might be moved thereby "to the effect of that which was before mentioned."

Homilies then to be used.

These homilies were three: the first of *Repentance*, and of true reconciliation unto God. Beginning, "There "is nothing that the Holy Ghost doth so much labour "in, &c." The second is of *Fasting:* beginning, "The life "which we live in this world, good Christian people, is of "the free benefit of God, &c." The third of *Almsdeeds*, and mercifulness towards the poor and needy. Beginning, "Among the manifold duties that Almighty God requireth "of his faithful servants, &c." This last hath three parts. These all are those that bear the same titles in the second tome of the Church Homilies.

Divine service enjoined, Wednesdays and Fridays.

Moreover, on Wednesdays and Fridays, the Ministers in every parish were enjoined to say divine service morning and evening, in such sort as thereafter followed. At which service one of every house in the parish was to be present. And the people to be admonished to make their charitable contributions at each time of assembly, to the relief of the poor: or at least according to the order of the statute. Certain proper Psalms and certain chapters were also appointed to be read: and after the Litany, the prayer appointed in the time of dearth and famine, and the prayer for the time of war.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. V.

Cartwright and the rest come before the Lords in the Star-chamber. Some account thereof. Sir Francis Knollys will not be concerned. The Queen apprehends danger from Puritans as well as Papists. Cartwright appears before the High Commissioners. Account of what was done then. Speeches of the Bishop of London, Dr. Bancroft, and Dr. Lewin, to him: with his answers. The effect of the principal matters in the bill of complaint against him and his fellows.

Anno 1591. Brought into the Star-chamber; Cartwright, and the rest of his party.

WE return now to Cartwright and his fellows, that had been before the commission ecclesiastical, and imprisoned: here their cause could no further be proceeded in to any purpose, because of their utter refusal to take the oath to give their answers. It was therefore thought convenient to bring them into the Court of Star-chamber, which had a power of inflicting severer punishments than imprisonment or deprivation. For it gave great offence that they had behaved themselves so refractorily hitherto. And so were the concurring judgments of the two Chief Justices, Chief Baron, Sergeant Puckring, and the Queen's Attorney and Solicitor General; looking upon this course of refusing to take an oath, upon pretence not to accuse themselves or their brethren, as tending to the overthrow of the common justice of the land, in all civil and ecclesiastical causes: and therefore, in order to further the discovery of these their courses, it was their opinions, after mature deliberation, that they should be brought to a public hearing, by bill and answer, in the Star-chamber. And that, since far less crimes than theirs had been punished by condemnation to the galleys, or perpetual banishment, (as they found by precedents,) they thought the latter to be the fittest punishment in their case; so it were to some remote place; that there might be no danger of their return, nor of disturbing the peace of the commonwealth by their writings, or otherwise: and so submitting their opinions

unto her Majesty. This will more largely appear from an authentic paper, written in February this year, 1590; where these men's doctrines and practices (taken out of their own books) are summed up, "tending to the erecting of a "new pretended discipline, and to the overthrow of her "Majesty's government and prerogative, in causes civil "and ecclesiastical;" as the title thereof ran. And it had this endorsement by the hand of the Lord Treasurer, February 3, 1590: *A collection of the disorderly practices of certain factious Ministers, with the opinion of the Justices and learned Council.* It will be found in the Appendix. Numb. III.

CHAP. V.

Anno 1591.

The opinion of the Chief Justices concerning them.

361

May the 13th, 1591, was an appearance of them in the Star-chamber before the Lords. When the Attorney General inveighed openly against Cartwright and the others, for refusing to swear to the articles, (as we heard before,) upon pretence that they were unknown to them; though they were read to them; while they insisted much upon a copy of them to be delivered to them. But Fuller, the lawyer, being one that was appointed counsel for the said prisoner, beginning to answer Mr. Attorney in the prisoner's behalf, the Lord Chancellor interrupted him; and took this course following: (which I relate *verbatim* from a letter of Sir Francis Knollys, writ the very next day from Court to the Lord Treasurer, informing him thereof:) "That "upon his consultation before taken, in the dining cham- "ber with the Archbishop, the Lord of Buckhurst, Mr. "Foskue, [Fortescue,] Mr. Attorney, with the two Chief "Justices, (to which consultation the said Knollys ap- "proached not, because, as he said, he was not called "thereunto,) the said Lord Chancellor after he was set, "and that Mr. Attorney had inveighed, as before was said, "made this motion following: (which, as it seems, was the "result of that consultation:) that the Archbishop might "be ordered to appoint one Doctor of Divinity, and one "Doctor of the Civil Law, to attend, and to join with the "Judges, for their information against the said prisoner. "And immediately the Lord Chancellor asked Sir Francis "Knollys [who was also a Privy Counsellor] his opinion

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

"in this motion." But he warily avoided the giving of his opinion against them, whom he heartily favoured, by returning this answer:

Sir Francis Knollys shews his mind of the danger of the Queen from the Bishops.

"That because he doubted, whether her Majesty would "allow him to speak his conscience in her Majesty's be- "half, against the unjust claimed superiority of Bishops, "directly impugning her Majesty's supreme government, "as (he said) he took it, and as he had offered before her "Majesty to prove it; and as he was not afraid in the "Star-chamber, by the help of learned counsel, to prove it, "(if her Majesty would give him leave;) because of this "doubt of her Majesty before said; therefore his answer "to the Lord Chancellor only was, that he was not made "privy to the true causes that were alleged against the "said prisoners; although he had sundry times desired, "both publicly and privately, that the said unjust claimed "superiority of Bishops might be discussed lawfully; that "is to say, according to the laws of this realm; and not "according to the canon or civil laws. For that those "laws, as he added, did not defend her Majesty's supreme "government, but rather they did the contrary. And then "applying to the Lord Treasurer, (to whom he made this "relation,) he bade him see into what a strait he was "driven. For that it was a deadly grief unto him to of- "fend her Majesty, especially publicly. And yet he had "rather die, than to impugn her Majesty's safety by any "pleasing speech." And though this be a little straying from Cartwright's trial at this time in the Star-chamber; yet let me go on, on this occasion, to shew further this good gentleman's zeal to the cause. Therefore he concluded his address to the Lord to whom he wrote, desiring, "that it might please him to shew his letter to the Queen; "to the end, that her Majesty might give him leave to "speak his own conscience freely in behalf of her Ma- "jesty's safety, in this cause aforesaid. Or else, if so "much grace could not be obtained of her Majesty for "him, that his desire was, that to avoid her Majesty's of- "fence, with the offence of his conscience, it would please

" her to make him a private man. That he might so be " silent, and avoid her Majesty's offence. Which offence " he was desirous to fly, even as from a serpent. And " this, he said, he durst not write otherwise than with his " own hand, though writing hindered his sight."

To this let me add, (before I return to Cartwright's cause,) that the Queen, in her discourse with this her zealous courtier upon the argument of her safety, (which he seemed so much in fear of from the Bishops,) told him on the contrary, (and gave her reasons for it,) that she could place no safety in that sort of men, whatsoever was pretended for them. And that she was in as much danger from Puritans as Papists. This saying of the Queen did much disturb him: and as he used to utter his mind in these matters to the before mentioned Lord by frequent letters, so did he likewise open himself again to him, upon these expressions of the Queen, after this manner; " That " he marvelled how her Majesty could be persuaded, that " she was in as much danger of such as were called Puri- " tans, as she was of the Papists. And that she could " not be ignorant, that the Puritans were not able to " change the government of the Clergy, but only by peti- " tion at her Majesty's hands. And yet her Majesty could " not do it, but she must call a Parliament first. And no " act could pass thereof, unless her Majesty should give " her royal assent thereunto." And as touching their seditious going about the same, [which was used as an argument of the danger the Queen and State was in from them,] he said, " If the Bishops, or any Lord or Chan- " cellor, or any for them, could have proved *de facto*, that " Cartwright, or his fellow prisoners, had gone about any " such matters seditiously, then Cartwright and his fellows " had been hanged before this time. But her Majesty, he " added, might keep a form of justice as well against Puri- " tans, as any other subjects. So that they might be tried " in time convenient; whether they were suspected of se- " dition or treason; or whatsoever name you should give " unto it, being Puritanism or otherwise."

362

The Queen tells him her apprehension from Puritans.

What he thought of those words of the Queen.

BOOK IV.

But turn we to Cartwright and his fellow prisoners. In the month of May, soon after their appearance in the Star-chamber, Cartwright alone (being the chief and guide to the rest) was thought fit to be brought before the Queen's ecclesiastical Commissioners, (the Archbishop being absent on purpose, for avoiding any uncharitable surmises of him,) at the Bishop of London's house. A favourable account whereof, and what passed between him and those of the commission, (drawn up, as I think, by the hand of Cartwright himself, for the perusal and information of the Lord Treasurer,) was as followeth: bearing this title: *Th'effect of the answer of Mr. Cartwright before certen her Majesties High Commissioners in causes ecclesiastical; namely, the Bishop of London, the Atturney General, Mrs. D. Lewin, D. Bancroft, D. Stanhope, and another, whom I knew not; which two last were silent. The place was the Bishops chamber, secretlie kept, lest any that favoured his cause (as seemeth) should come in. The time, upon Saturday last in th'afternoon; without (as I have heard) any warning aforehand; which is usually given to prisoners.*

Anno 1591. Cartwright before the High Commissioners.

MSS. and Collection. Whitg.

The Bishop in a long speech charged him, first, that he had abused the Privy Council, by informing them of diseases, wherewith he was not troubled. Secondly, that he with others, in a supplication, had abused her Majesty, in suggesting, that the oath which was tendered was not according to law; and that it was given generally without limitation. Thirdly, upon that Mr. C. had confessed twice or thrice before that time, that a man might be saved in observing the order of the Church, established by the laws of the land, he charged him with the vanity and fruitlessness of seeking further reformation. Adding further, that in the greatest matters, he and others contended for, they were of the same opinion that the Papists be; as partly appeared by the answers of those that were the Thursday before at Lambeth; *viz.* his and other the Bishops' agreement with the Papists, being (said he) only in some small ceremonies. Which notwithstanding, he affirmed not to

The Bishop of London's charge against him.

be small or indifferent, when they were established. But such as being disobeyed, purchased condemnation. But now that he was to take an oath which had been before offered him. CHAP. V. Anno 1591.

Then Mr. Cartwright beginning to speak, Mr. Attorney took the speech from him, and made also a long speech. The effect whereof was to shew, how dangerous a thing that was, that men should, upon the conceits of their own heads, and yet under colour of conscience, refuse the things that have been received for laws of long time: and that this oath that was tendered was according to the laws of the land; which he commended above the laws of all other lands. Yet so, that because they were the laws of men, they carried always some stain of imperfection. Also, that he was now to deal with Cartwright in two points. One was, the peace of the land, which was broken by him and others, through unlawful meetings, and making of laws. The other was the justice of the land, which he and others had offended against, in refusing the oath now tendered. Which (as he said) was used in other courts of the land. Neither was there any (in his conscience) learned in the laws that did judge it unlawful. So exhorting Mr. Cartwright to take the oath, the rather for that he being aged should have more experience, and with it more wisdom than the others, he made an end of his speech. 363 Mr. Attorney's speech to Cartwright.

After that, the Bishop requiring Mr. C. to take the oath, he desired that ere he came to the oath, he might be received to answer the grievous charges which were given partly against him apart, and partly against him with others, by Mr. Attorney; but especially by his Lordship. Whereunto the Bishop answering, that he should not answer any thing, but only to the oath, whether he would take it to the articles which he had seen. And Mr. Cartwright replying, that it was a hard course to give open charges, and the same very grievous, and yet to shut him from all answer of them: the Bishop willed him first to answer touching the oath; and then he should be admitted to answer the charges which had been made upon him. Cartwright urged to take the oath.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

His answer.

Mr. Cartwright, following the order the Bishop had appointed him, answered, that the articles being the same that they upon oath would examine him of, which he had seen before, he had already made answer to them. Which he drew forth of his bosom, and withal offered to be sworn unto it: and that he could not make any further answer. Whereof when they demanded the reason, his answer was, that he had laid the chief strength of his refusal upon the law of God; secondly, upon the laws of the land; which in some men's judgment, professing the skill of the laws, did outwarrant such proceeding. But seeing that he heard Mr. Attorney affirm as he did, and that he had no eyes to look into the depth and mysteries of the law, that he would most principally rely and stand (at this present) upon the law of God.

Dr. Lewin's speech concerning this oath:

Then Dr. Lewin spake, and said, that he would be glad that Mr. Cartwright should understand, that he was greatly deceived in that he called this oath, *the oath ex officio;* whereas it is by express words derived from the authority of the Prince, by a *delegate* power unto them: wherefore that he had need to take heed, lest, in refusal of this oath, he refused that which the Prince authorized. Which speech the Bishop greatly commended, and willing Mr. Cartwright to take heed unto it, lest, by refusal of this oath, he should directly oppose himself to the authority of the Prince. Mr. Cartwright answered, first, that in calling it an oath *ex officio*, he did it by warrant of this court, using no other language therein than the Bishop himself, that so called it: and another of the high commission, that was not then present, called it *the oath of Inquisition*. The Bishop denied that he had done so. But Mr. Cartwright appealing therein to the testimony of those which were present, he was silent. Secondly, Mr. Cartwright alleged, that he had seen commissions from her Majesty wherein there was no mention of proceeding by corporal oath.

And Dr. Bancroft's.

Then Dr. Bancroft interrupting him, Mr. Cartwright desired that he might make an end of his answer. But Dr. Bancroft saying, that Mr. Cartwright might speak if he

would, and that himself would keep silence, Mr. Cartwright answered, that he would give him place, and proceed after with his answer, if he remembered it. So Dr. Bancroft said, that the high commissions had been altered, as occa- 364
sions of times, persons, and other circumstances required: and that it was true indeed that the former commissions had not inserted into them the clause of proceeding by oath; but that there were some men, discontented with the state, had sought curiously into these things, and observed them; and that Mr. Cartwright had taken them from them. Hereupon there fell some jar between the Bishop and Dr. Bancroft; the Bishop affirming, that he liked not that saying of the Doctor, and the Doctor making it good, and not afraid to profess it. But the Bishop said, that he had been Commissioner this thirty years, partly in Lincoln and partly in London, and had had always that clause of the oath inserted. His fear being, (as it seemeth,) lest they, having used the oath always, and having no commission but now of late, should be thought to be in the *premunire;* for that they had used it so many years without warrant.

Then Mr. Cartwright said, that he had a third point remaining of his answer to Dr. Lewin and the Bishop, which was, that although they might by words of her Majesty's commission proceed by oath, yet it followed not, that therefore they might proceed by oath without any to accuse, without all limitation, and without reasonable time of deliberation and advice what to answer. And therefore he refuseth not simply to swear; but to swear in such sort as they required was not, as is said, directly opposite herein to the Queen's authority.

Debate between Cartwright and Bancroft.

Hereof there was some debating of the difference of this oath from the oaths tendered in other courts; Mr. Cartwright alleging, that although in other courts the words of the oath were general, yet that indeed it was restrained to some particular matter, which the deponent knew before he took the oath: and that himself, in title of the hospital lands, before certain Commissioners had taken the

BOOK IV.

oath which is accustomably given in other courts. After, Mr. Dr. Bancroft charged him, that he had taken this oath

Anno 1591.

twenty years ago; asking, why it was not as lawful now as at that time? Whereunto he answered, that the case was not like; for that then there was but one only matter for him to be examined of, and the same well known of him before: also, that he had not so spent his time, (he thanked God,) but in that so long a space he had learned something, as in some other things, so in this.

I heard also Mr. Cartwright say afterwards, that, had he not been interrupted, he could further have answered, that he took not that oath twenty years ago, but with exception to answer so far as might well stand with God's glory and the good of his neighbour. Finally, that by the example of divers Ministers and others, refusing this oath before him, he took occasion to search further than otherwise he was like to have done.

Then Dr. Bancroft said, that forsomuch as every man which had offended another was bound to confess his fault, and to reconcile himself, that he should much more do it to the Prince. Whereunto Mr. Cartwright answering, that the case here was utterly unlike, and that this general rule did admit some exception. Which seeming strange to Mr. Dr. Bancroft, he required of Mr. Cartwright an instance. Who answered, that if he had spoken evil to one of a third man, which never came to the knowledge of it, it should not stand well with the rule of charity to open this matter unto the person whom he had wronged; considering that so he might (likely) break the knots of love, which, without that confession, might have continued whole.

Charged to make laws, and require subscription.

Moreover, upon the charge which Mr. Attorney repeated, that Mr. Cartwright and others had holden conferences and made laws, Mr. Cartwright answered, that touching that point his answer was before them, which (being required) he would confirm upon his oath: that is, that they never held conferences by any authority, nor ever made any laws by any manner of compulsion to procure any obedience to them. Also, that he and others had expressly testified by

subscription, that they would not so much as voluntarily, and by mutual agreement one of them with another, practise any advice or agreement that was contrary to any law in the land. Whereto Mr. Dr. Bancroft replied, that authority they had none, and therefore could not use it; and compulsion needed not, seeing every one received to their conferences must subscribe to be obedient to all orders he and others should set down; so far as if they should set down the sense and interpretation of a place of Scripture, it could not be lawful for any to depart from that: which, said he, is deposed by three or four. But, said Mr. Cartwright, he might have ecclesiastical jurisdiction of reproof, suspension, excommunication, degradation, as they had been openly, but most untruly, charged to have done, if either he or others with him had thought it lawful for them so to do.

Anno 1591. 365

Cartwright's answer.

And for the other point of their requiring subscription to any that was admitted, much less such a subscription as Mr. Dr. Bancroft spake of, he protested that neither had he so done, nor any that he knew; and that he was ready to make that also good upon his oath.

Further, Dr. Lewin moved Mr. Cartwright to take the oath, and then assured himself that the company would take at his hand any reasonable answer. To whom Mr. Cartwright answered, that he could not conveniently give any other answer than that which was before them. To whom when the Bishop replied, that then they would tell him where his answer was short, and did require further answer. So, said Mr. Cartwright, shall not the oath make an end of the controversy; which notwithstanding is the proper use of an oath. Against which Mr. Dr. Bancroft excepted, saying, that an oath *tended* to make an end of a controversy; and that it was strange that Mr. Cartwright said, that it should end a controversy. Albeit Mr. Cartwright therein alleged no interpretation, but the plain text. But, (said Mr. Dr. Bancroft,) Mr. Cartwright, think you thus to go away in the clouds, or to have to deal with men of so small judgment, as not to see what is your drift? Do

Charged to bring in the Discipline by force.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

not we know from whom you draw your discipline and Church government? Do not we know their judgments and their practice? Which is to bring in the further reformation, against the Prince's will, by force and arms. It is well known how one of the English Church at Geneva wrote a book, to move to take arms against Queen Mary; and Mr. Whittingham's Preface before it: and who knoweth not, that the Church of Geneva allowed it? Also, we have seen the practice in France. Likewise it is written in the Scottish story, how Mr. Knocks moved the nobility of Scotland to bring in the Gospel with force, against the Queen there. And likewise well known, that Mr. Calvin was banished Geneva, for that he would have brought in the Discipline against the will of the magistrate.

He meant Mr. Goodman.

Cartwright's answer thereto; and denial of it.

Whereunto Mr. Cartwright replied, that his meaning was not to hide himself in the clouds touching this matter, as one which had made a plain direct denial hereof: wherein if any thing were doubtful, he would make it as plain as Mr. Doctor could set that down. But that he now perceived, that if others were like minded to Mr. Dr. Bancroft, all purgation of ourselves by oath (which was now required of him and others) should be in vain; considering, that whatsoever they should depose, yet it must be answered, as Mr. Doctor doth, that they knew our drift well enough. Moreover, that he did the reformed churches great injury; which never had either that judgment or practice he speaketh of, for any thing that he ever read or knew. That he had read the Scottish story, but remembered not that which he spake of. If some particular persons had written from Geneva some such thing as he spake of, yet that it was a hard judgment to charge the Church of Geneva with it: which, by an epistle set forth by Mr. Beza, a principal Minister thereof, had utterly disclaimed that judgment.

With this the Bishop took them up, and asking Mr. Cartwright once again, whether he would take the oath, upon his refusal commanded an act thereof to be entered. Then Mr. Cartwright putting the Bishop in mind of his promise of leave to answer the charges which were given

against him, he answered, that he had no leisure to hear his answer; and if he would answer, he should do it by a private letter to the Bishop. One thing beside Mr. Dr. Bancroft undertook to affirm there, that her Majesty had read Mr. Cartwright's answer to the articles, which, al- 366 though it were abruptly brought in, yet it was esteemed that his meaning was thereby to signify, that her Majesty, notwithstanding the knowledge of that answer, would have this severe proceeding against him.

Anno 1591.

CHAP. VI.

Further account of the Puritans' troubles in the Star-chamber. Informations against them. The Attorney General's judgment of them. Two writings of the Archbishop against them, considered by a lawyer. Their petition to the Council, and to the Archbishop, for their liberty. Granted by them. Letter of some Doctors of the University to the Lord Treasurer, to favour peaceable preachers. Divers Puritans deposed. Cartwright's plea for their classes. *A brief account of the proceedings with the Puritans in the Star-chamber. Divers interrogatories refused by them to make answer unto.*

BUT because I am entered thus far in this point of ecclesiastical history, (whereof very slight and imperfect accounts have been hitherto written,) the Puritan controversy in this judicial proceeding being largely handled and examined, both in the high commission and in the Star-chamber, as it had been before laboured in Parliament; and opposed in behalf of the Church of England, principally by the hand and endeavours of the Archbishop; I shall therefore go on to relate more particularly this affair.

In the month of May or June was an information exhibited against Cartwright and the rest; *viz.* Snape, Fen, Information in the Star-cham-

BOOK IV.

Lord, &c. Which briefly began with a Preface to the Queen; "That all power and superiority next under God, "over all persons, and in all causes in her Highness' do-

Anno 1591. ber against Cartwright. The Preface.

"minions, was in her Highness lawfully united to the im-"perial crown of this realm. That by her most gracious "means, the true and sincere word of God, ever since her "Majesty's reign, had been universally preached through-"out her dominions. That the ecclesiastical government, "received and established by her Highness' authority in "the Church of England, was lawful, and also allowable "by the word of God: and the sacraments, ministered as "they were, were godly and rightly ministered. And that "the whole order of public prayers and ceremonies esta-"blished by law, was such, as no person ought therefore "to make any schism, division, or contention, or to with-"draw himself from the Church. That no synods, assem-"blies, or conventicles, ought to be within her Majesty's "dominions, to treat of, conclude, or establish any laws, "constitutions, or ordinances, to be used, executed, or put "in practice in her Highness' dominions, in any ecclesias-"tical cause or matter, or concerning any government, "estate, or person, or for the altering of any laws, statutes, "or ordinances, without her Majesty's authority and as-"sent." And then follow the information of divers misde-meanors, contrary unto these assertions, charged upon the persons aforesaid: all which misdemeanors informed of in one column, and the answers of the defendants in an-

Numb. IV. other, may be read at length in the Appendix, transcribed

367 from an original belonging to the Lord Treasurer. By whose hand it was thus endorsed, *Jun.* 1591. *Answer of Mr. Cartwright to the Bil in the Star-chamber.*

Popham, Attorney General, his judgment of these Puritans.

After these their appearances and answers, they were remanded back to prison: and because the main charge against them was, that they meant to overthrow the established government in the Church, and by force to bring in, in the room thereof, their own discipline; therefore the Lord Treasurer was desirous to be satisfied, whether that could be sufficiently proved against them; and for that

purpose had sent to Popham, the Attorney General, to consult all the writings and papers relating to the trial of these Puritans, and to give his judgment to him thereupon. Accordingly he thus writ to the said Lord: "That touching the matter with Cartwright and the rest, the books "were very long, and yet he had already read them "through, almost all; and did find, that these men had a "full resolution to have used means to have had that form "of *discipline* considered of by themselves, generally exercised: but, as most of them said, [in their answers,] "so far forth as the same might be done with the peace "of the Church, and laws of the land. But that it was "proved, that in some of their assemblies it was thought "good, (and so by them affirmed,) that sithes it could not "be got to be established by humble suit to her Majesty "and the Parliament, yet it should be brought to take effect: and that by this means; that the Ministers affected "as they were, in the several parts of the realm, should "win as many other Ministers as they could to embrace "that form of discipline; and they to win the people to "have a liking thereof: and that done, they to have put "it in practice with us; which, as he gathered (he said) "by the proof, was the plausible means whereby it might "be brought in. But this once done, it appeared that they "were resolved not to give allowance of either Archbishops "or Bishops to be in the Church. Besides sundry other "particulars, which he omitted to put down; all depending upon the establishing of their devised form of discipline." This was writ December 11, 1591.

CHAP. VI.

Anno 1591.

The judgment of another in their favour.

And not much after, the said Lord also had another account of their affair, and where it stuck; given him by one who seemed to be their counsel. For the Archbishop having drawn up his writings against them, the said counsel, or some other lawyer their friend, gave this account, and his judgment thereof. "That he had perused both those "writings of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury's Grace "against Cartwright and his fellows; and that he did find "nothing contained in them but those things which were

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

"opposed against them in the Star-chamber two years "agone. At which time the Lord Chancellor deceased, "and the said Archbishop did order, that Mr. Attorney "should inform for the Queen's Majesty against the said "Cartwright and his fellows. And whereas Mr. Attorney "informing for the Queen's Majesty in the Star-chamber "against any person, his order is, to have his witnesses "ready, to prove such matters as he informeth for the "Queen's Majesty, if the parties accused shall deny the "information, or any part thereof; this course against "Cartwright, &c. Mr. Attorney did not keep; because he "had not his witnesses ready to prove his information; "although he informed very straitly against them. But "for lack of Mr. Attorney's witnesses the Lord Chancellor "did order, that the Lord Archbishop's Grace should ap- "point a Doctor of Divinity and a Doctor of the Civil Law "to join with Mr. Attorney for his better instruction. But "when all their wits were laid together, there was no mat- "ter proved of any meetings or conventicles, seditiously "made and executed by Cartwright and his fellows. And "at the last, the Lord Chief Justice of England persuaded "the Lord Chancellor and the rest, after dinner in the "Star-chamber, that they should not deal against Cart- "wright and his fellows, until they should have matter to "prove some seditious act *de facto* to be committed by "them. And thereupon ever since that time the said Cart- "wright and his fellows have been kept in prison, without "any proceeding against them openly known, as far as he "could perceive."

368 During these men's restraint, they drew up a kind of submission to the Lords, setting forth their loyalty to her Majesty, and acknowledgment of her supremacy, and promise of their peaceable deportment in respect of obedience to the present government established in the Church. But it gave not satisfaction; not sufficiently renouncing therein their former principles and practices; which were such as shewed what just reason both the Prince and the Church had to apprehend imminent danger from them. And here-

They draw up a form of submission to the Queen.

upon were certain interrogatories ministered to them by the Archbishop, singly to give answer to; gathered out of a great many other articles drawn up against them, *viz.* Anno 1591.

Interrogatories ministered to them by the Archbishop. MSS. Cartwr.

" Whether he, or any other to his knowledge, had taught, " affirmed, or allowed, that in every Christian monarchy " there ought to be certain *ephori*, or officers, who should " have authority, upon some cause, by any means to re- " move or take away the Christian King from the govern- " ment; or to like effect?

" Whether he hath taught, maintained, or allowed, that " the King (being no Pastor, Doctor, or Elder) is to be ac- " counted among the governors of the Church, or among " those that are to be governed? And whether in a well " ordered Church, the Prince may ordain orders and cere- " monies in the Church?

" Whether he doth acknowledge the ecclesiastical go- " vernment, established by her Majesty, to be lawful?

" Whether he doth acknowledge the sacraments minis- " tered, as they be ordained to be ministered by the Book " of Common Prayer, to be rightly ministered?

" Whether he, or any others to his knowledge, have con- " cluded or transacted, that if the civil magistrate, after " sufficient means used, shall refuse to admit the govern- " ment by Presbyteries; then the Ministers may allure the " people to it, themselves may practise it, and use other " means to establish it?

" Whether he or others have affirmed, that it is lawful " for her Majesty's subjects, by a voluntary submission, to " yield to the practice of the government without her Ma- " jesty's assent?

" Whether have any censures of the Church, mentioned " in that book, [of Discipline,] been put in practice? " How, when, and by whom?

" Whether he knoweth, or hath credibly heard, that any " person hath been tried, examined, elected, or ordained, " or allowed to be a Minister, Pastor, or Doctor, by any " assembly, &c. according to any part of the said book?

" Whether have you, or any other, (as you know or have

BOOK IV.

" heard,) put in use the power and authority of an elder-
" ship, or some part thereof, by or under name of Pastors,
Anno 1591. " Doctors, &c.?

" How far have you taught or affirmed, that without the
" breach of the peace of the Church of England, any Min-
" isters or subjects voluntarily assembled, and not licensed
" by her Highness, may treat of laws to be altered?

" Have you had any other ordination, or approbation, to
" the ministry, than by some Bishop?

" Whether he, or any other to his knowledge, have
" treated or propounded certain means of maintenance for
" bare reading Ministers; and of thrusting forth of Arch-
" bishops, Bishops, Deans, and other officers ecclesiastical:
" and how they should be provided for; that the common-
" wealth might not be pestered with beggars? And what
" means of provision for them, and of thrusting them out,
" was thought of or propounded as fit to be used?

" Whether he, or any other to his knowledge, or by his
1587. " procurement sithence 1° Novembris, xxx° of her Ma-
" jesty, hath, by writing or teaching, advanced, approved,
" or set forth the manner of government ecclesiastical, set
" forth in the book of Discipline, or any part thereof?

" Whether, since the same time, he or any other have
" impugned, spoken, or opposed himself against the go-
" vernment ecclesiastical, form of common prayer, or ad-
" ministration of sacraments, exercised in this realm under
" her Majesty's authority?

369 " Whether have you moved or persuaded others to re-
" fuse the oath before the Commissioners ecclesiastical?

Fault charged on Lord.

" The said Mr. Lord confesseth, that he hath moved or
" persuaded others to refuse the oath before the Commis-
" sioners ecclesiastical. Wherein he must acknowledge
" his fault.

" The same fault charged on Wight. Wherein he was
" required to acknowledge his fault.

" He is also to acknowledge his fault in subscribing to
" the book of Discipline; and in putting the same in prac-
" tice by several meetings, and in some other things, &c."

CHAP. VI.

Anno 1591.

I omit each man's answer to these interrogatories; which were all very warily made. To this last paragraph, requiring the acknowledgment of their faults, Cartwright wrote these lines: "For answer hereunto I refer myself to that "laid down in our most humble petition unto your Lord- "ships, as the whole of that I can with warrant of my "conscience set down. Which as I most humbly pray "your Lordships to accept in good part: so if that do not "satisfy, I humbly submit myself to the punishment her "Majesty or your Lordships shall think good to inflict; "humbly praying, that my long and tedious imprisonment, "with the sundry inconveniences accompanying the same, "may, in honourable and Christian compassion, be therein "tenderly considered." Fen, Lord, King, Wight, gave in their particular answers to the same purport: but Proudlove, who had not (it seems) subscribed that book of Discipline, gave this answer: "I answer, I can confess no "fault, where I deny the thing charged upon me. For I "have not (to my knowledge) subscribed to the book of "Discipline. And whereas I did sometimes meet in con- "ference with some few neighbour Ministers, it was volun- "tary and free, not by any band of subscription or promise: "and besides that, our meetings were not according to the "book of Discipline. Concerning other things, I know not "what they be, unless they were particularly set down. "But nevertheless understanding, that to meet in confer- "ence, in such manner and form as is prescribed in the "book of Discipline, is misliked by her Majesty and your "Honours, I do promise that I will not hereafter meet in "conference, according to that which I, together with "others, have set down in our general submission and pe- "tition already exhibited to your Honours." And Snape answered thus: "I subscribed not the book of Discipline, "nor the articles annexed; nor, by the subscription there- "of supposed, promised to observe the meeting prescribed "in that book, (to the utmost of my remembrance,) as I "have already deposed. For further answer hereunto I "humbly refer myself unto that which in a petition, ex-

Their answer.

BOOK IV.

" hibited by myself and others unto your Lordships, is set " down in this behalf."

Anno 1591.

They address to the Privy Council and Archbishop for their liberty.

At length, to draw towards the end of these Ministers' troubles, upon their petition aforesaid to the Lords of the Privy Council, having suffered restraint about a year and a half, liberty upon bail was promised them from the same Lords, and particularly from the Archbishop. And knowing nothing was to be done without his allowance and consent, in these affairs that concerned the Church, Cartwright and the rest addressed to him in this letter. " That hav- " ing, upon their most humble suit to her Majesty's most " honourable Privy Council, received, as from others of " that most honourable Board, so also from his Grace, a " comfortable answer of deliverance from this their long " and tedious imprisonment, shortly to be accomplished: " and that having stayed in the hope and expectation there- " of some convenient time, they were again constrained, " by their manifold and grievous afflictions sustained by " them and theirs, through sickness and otherwise, to re- " new their humble suit for bail; until such times as he " and the rest of their Honours should determine their " cause depending before them. That herein therefore " they humbly craved his Grace's lawful favour and fur- " therance, as one of principal respect, in this their cause, " both in regard of their calling to the ministry, and in re- " gard of the matters that were in question, being ecclesi-
370 " astical. They trusted his Grace would the rather yield " them this their suit, considering, that notwithstanding " they were of different judgment from himself and others " in some of the controversies of our Church, yet they had " not, nor meant to alienate their affections from the holy " fellowship of the Church of God, wherein his Grace, and " others of like mind unto him, did remain. Thus hoping " to receive a comfortable answer for release of their long " and heavy restraint, they humbly commended his Honour " to the merciful direction of the Almighty. Subscribing, " *His Grace's humbly to command*, &c."

Yet it appears that Cartwright (who was the prime and

leading man of them) could hardly bring his stomach to make any petition to the Archbishop; notwithstanding he had been instructed, that that would be the most effectual way to gain their liberties. For he remembered how, a year or two before, the Archbishop had required some harder terms of him than of the other Puritans. Which made him address a private letter to the Lord Treasurer from the Fleet, Jan. 25, before he preferred his petition; (which he had ready, and drawn up;) therein expressing, how bold he was again to desire his honourable favour for the relief which might seem good to his Lordship, in regard of the causes he had laid down in a former letter: and making known to him the cause, why hitherto he had forborne to make his suit unto his Grace: namely, for that, in the late Lord Chancellor's lifetime, he denied him that favour which he granted unto others of his fellows in the same cause. Howbeit, as he added, if his Lordship liked his suit unto him, to be the way, he had prepared his petition; which he would either refer or forbear, as he might any ways understand his pleasure therein.

Anno 1591.

Cartwright addresseth to the Archbishop with no good-will.

Thus they having now lain in the Fleet and other prisons all the winter, and there being no other help for them, they found it their last refuge to humble themselves, by petitioning the Archbishop to be favourable to them for their liberty, to go out upon bail; which he yielded to: referring them to the Attorney. And to make the better way for their speeding, they drew up a supplication to the Lord Treasurer to stand their friend; namely, to be a means that they might be bailed without any caution or condition (which the Archbishop told them they must give) that might be against their conscience. The sum of which humble request was, that (his Lordship being sick) they had sent their wives with their petitions to his Grace; and that he directed them to go to the Attorney General, where they should receive the cautions of their deliverance: which his Grace termed by the name of their *submission*. What it was, I refer to the Appendix. Which was grievous unto them, as supposing a confession of guilt. That however

They apply to the Archbishop to be bailed.

Numb. V.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

they sent their wives to the Attorney, but he was out of Town; and therefore they now humbly solicited him to stand their good Lord, that their liberty might not depend upon such conditions as they could not undergo, unless they said otherwise than was truth, and burdened their own consciences before the Lord: which his Lordship might, they said, easily see in the experience of the oath *ex officio;* for which they had endured so long and heavy imprisonment. And this humble request was signed by the hands of Cartwright, Fen, Wight, Lord, Jewel, Proudlove, Snape, and King. But I choose to lay the whole paper in the Appendix, that the reader may see their full plea for themselves.

Numb. VI.

Which he granteth.

And the Archbishop, notwithstanding the false reports of people concerning his secret malice against Cartwright upon the old quarrel, shewed himself above any such unchristian spirit; and that it was only the peace of the Church, which he saw so extremely disturbed, and the Church itself endangered by him and his party, that made him so vigilant as he was in the prosecution of them. But now he readily gave his consent for Cartwright's discharge, as well as the rest, upon promise to be quiet: which was all the conditions that their submission, as it seems, came to.

A favourable letter to the Lord Treasurer from some Doctors for these men.

While the petitions and endeavours before-mentioned were in hand for these Ministers, in the month of February some eminent Heads of the University, as Dr. Goad, Dr. Whitaker, and two others, took this opportunity, by a well penned letter, to excite the Lord Treasurer to be favourable in general to all the true and peaceable preachers of the Gospel: especially observing to him, how divers of the true friends and lovers of the Gospel, though carrying themselves in dutiful and peaceable manner, had tasted in some measure of more hard severity than many known Papists had done. And that as there were of late public testimonies through the whole land, of the necessary good course taken by him against the common enemy, the papistical adversaries, and that by his special means, wise care, and

371

godly zeal; so that it might please him with like mindful care to further, relieve, and comfort the true and peaceable professors of the Gospel, as several occasions now and hereafter might be ministered. This whole letter may be perused in the Appendix. Wherein nevertheless they added, that it was not their intent to commend to his Lordship neither any causes nor persons in particular, or to do any thing in general, otherwise than might stand with the present state established, and the peace of our Jerusalem. And in this limit to stir up his sincere mind in God's cause. CHAP. VI. Anno 1591. Numb. VII.

But (to look a little back, and to take up some more particulars) though Cartwright and the rest of these men resolved to answer to no interrogatories upon oath, and declined warily so to do, because they would not discover themselves; yet one of their party, *viz.* Thomas Stone, Rector of Warkton in Northamptonshire, mentioned by Fuller as the only person that was sworn, and upon his oath he answered to certain interrogatories, (six only set down by that author; thirty-three indeed,) that wholly laid open their *classes* and synods, and the places where they were held, and the persons present at them. Which whole confession of Stone fell into Mr. Fuller's hands, who transcribed it into his History; but from an imperfect, interpolated copy. And when this man was extremely blamed for taking the oath, he was fain to vindicate himself in so doing; saying, "That he judged it not lawful to refuse an "oath, limited and bound within the compass of the con-"ferences; being required before a lawful magistrate in a "plea for the Prince, to a lawful end." Their classes discovered by one who took the oath. Eccles. Hist. b. ix. p. 206.

But besides Stone, several others of their own party were induced, as well as he, to swear to answer to the interrogatories, and gave evidence both on her Majesty's behalf, as well as on the behalf of the defendants; *viz.* Henry Alvey, a Fellow of St. John's college, Cambridge, Thomas Edmunds, William Perkins, (he, I suppose, that was then Fellow of Christ's college, the author of divers books of divinity,) Edmund Littleton, John Johnson, Thomas Barbar, Herculas Cleavely, and Anthony Nutter. Several of these were Several Puritans sworn to answer on the Queen's behalf.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591. No. VIII.

also deposed for the defendants, namely, Stone, Barbar, Nutter, and Cleavely. For which interrogatories see the Appendix. These depositions, in answer to the interrogatories, in an authentic book, are in my possession, consisting of divers columns. As, the branches of the bill against T. C. E. S. H. F. and the rest: the answer of Henry Alvey, Thomas Edmunds, &c. deposed for the Queen's Majesty: the answer of Thomas Stone, &c. deposed on the defendants' behalf: and lastly, another column, being answers to the things of moment; deposed against the defendants: too long to be here inserted; but I have reposited in the Appendix the said answers deposed on both sides.

No. IX, X.

Cartwright sends to the Lord Treasurer an abstract of their answers.

Cartwright and his fellows, after these discoveries, were permitted to give in their answers in writing, (to which they swore,) to the Lords in the Star-chamber, to the several articles objected to them. And Cartwright in a letter, dated the beginning of June, to the Lord Treasurer, inclosed an abstract thereof, with protestations how harmless and inoffensive, both to the Queen and State, those their meetings and conferences were. His letter, in the name of the rest, ran in this tenor: "That it was their desire and "most humble suit, that his Lordship might understand "the truth of the things they stood charged with, before "her Majesty, in her high court of the Star-chamber. To "the end, that, as they refused not to bear the punishment "of that they should be found to have deserved; so if it "should appear unto his Honour, that, in their most secret "meetings and consultations, (which they never thought "they should have comen to the examination of,) they had
372 "carried themselves with all dutiful regard, not only to her "excellent Majesty, but also to the laws of the land; they "might by this honourable means, first, and especially, be "eased of her Majesty's high indignation, which, by un-"true informations, had been conceived against them. And "then, in the second place, might escape the hard course "which was threatened against them. And because his "Lordship's manifold affairs would not easily suffer him to "turn over the long book on both sides, he was bold to

"send unto him an *abstract*, in parallel wise, the answer "on the right side, directly opposite to the information on "the left hand." [Which is set down, Numb. IV. in the Appendix.] And then concluded his letter, "with his "humble remembrance and acknowledgment of his special "bounden duty to his Lordship: and did humbly com- "mend the same to the gracious protection and blessing "of God in Jesus Christ. Whom he did likewise daily "pray unto, that after long life and much honour, he "would give unto him the crown of glory that he had pro- "mised to give unto all those that loved his coming, and "strove faithfully therefore. Fleet, the 2d of June, 91. "Subscribing, *Your Honour's most humbly to command*, "*Thomas Cartwright.*" Anno 1591.

But instead of Cartwright's *abstract*, the readers may have before them (in the Appendix) the whole bill preferred against him and the rest of his brethren in that high court, together with their answers to each article therein; which I held worth preserving. To which I thought fit to add the examinations and answers of Alvey, Edmunds, Perkins, Littleton, &c. mentioned above; who were sworn to give witness in this cause on the behalf of the Queen, (which they did with as much tenderness as they could to their own party,) together with their answers on the behalf of the defendants. No. IV. and IX.

But that that great Lord (having been laid up by sickness while these matters were in hand) might comprehend truly all the proceedings on both sides, a brief account thereof was drawn up (and that, I suppose, by the Archbishop's direction) for him, by his Grace's secretary. And thus I find the paper endorsed by that Lord's own hand, *The 23. of June*, 1591, *The effect of the Bil and Answers of Cartwright.* It bore this title: Brief account of the proceedings with the Puritans.

The Effect of some of the principal Matters in the Bil and Complaint against Mr. Cartwright and the rest. MSS. Ecclesiastic. penes me.

"That there hath been of late set forth, by some sedi-

BOOK IV.

" tious people, a government of the Church by Doctors,
" Pastors, Elders, Deacons, and such like.

Anno 1591.

" With a new form of common prayer and administra-
" tion of the sacraments, and discipline for the Church:
" composed in a book intitled, *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra,*
" *Dei verbo descripta:* and other books and pamphlets of
" like nature.

" That the defendents have unlawfully and seditiously
" assembled themselves together concerning the premisses.

" And have in those [assemblies] treated of and con-
" cluded upon sondry seditious articles in allowance of the
" same books, and of the matters therein contained.

" Unto which articles the defendents have in some of
" those assemblies submitted themselves, and subscribed,
" and put part thereof in execution. For which misde-
" meanours they have been called in question before the
" High Commissioners: where they refused to take the
" oath ministred to them, to answer to such articles as
" they were to be examined of, on her Majesties behalf,
" concerning the same.

" Of al which a bil hath been exhibited, by direction
" from the Lords, into the Star-chamber against the de-
" fendents. In which bil is also contained; that they,
" under colour and pretence of disciplin and charitie, do
" deryve to themselves power to deal in al maner of causes
" whatsoever: and have moved and persuaded sondrie her
" Majesties subjects to refuse to take any othe to aun-
" swer to any matter that may concern any the unlawful
" doings and proceedings of them, their brethren and
" teachers.

373 " To this bil the defendents, in their aunswer, have con-

The first answer.

" fessed their denyal to take the othe before the Commis-
" sioners. And for the rest of the most material matters,
" have made an uncertain and insufficient aunswer.

The direction of the Judges.

" Which being referred by the Court to the considera-
" tion of the Chief Justices, Chief Baron, and Mr. Justice
" Gawdie, they, advising thereof, did set down wherein

" their aunswers were insufficient: and that they ought to " aunswer the same particularly and directlie.

" This notwithstanding, they made their aunswer, in ef- Anno 1591.
" fect, in many points as imperfect as before; and in some The second answer.
" points opposing themselves against the report of the " Judges, that they ought not to aunswer them.

" Whereupon interrogatories are ministred unto them The first examination taken upon the interrogatories.
" upon the parts of the bil: whereof they aunswer not at " all the most part, and the principal interrogatories.

" Hereupon the consideration thereof being by the Court The direction of the Judges.
" eftsones committed to the said Judges, and they to set " down wherein and which of the interrogatories ought to " be better aunswered, and that the same should be aun- " swered accordingly; the Judges have performed the same.

" The defendents being thereupon eftsones examined The second examination upon the interrogatories.
" upon these interrogatories, according to the direction, " do notwithstanding stil refuse to aunswer them, as name- " ly these:

" Where the said assemblies were; when, and how " often?

" Who were at the same assemblies, as well as them- " selves?

" What matters were treated of in the same assemblies?

" Who made or set forth, corrected or reformed, the said " book of Disciplin, or any part thereof?

" Who subscribed or submitted themselves to the same " book, or to the articles therein concluded, besides the " said defendents?

" Whether, in a Christian monarchy, the King is to be " accompted among the governours of the Church; or " amongst those which are to be governed by Pastors, " Doctors, or such like?

" Whether, in a wel ordered Church, it is lawful for the " Sovereign Prince to ordaine orders and ceremonies ap- " pertaining to the Church?

" Whether ecclesiastical government established by her " Majesties authoritie within the Church of England, be " lawful, or allowed by the word of God?

BOOK IV. Anno 1591.

"Whether the sacraments ministred within her Majes-
"ties dominions, as they be ordained by the Book of
"Common Prayer to be ministred, be godly and rightly
"ministred?"

374

CHAP. VII.

The Archbishop appointed to send Divines to confer with Udal, &c. Condemned for sedition. Makes a declaration of his judgment. Is pardoned. Troubles of Eusebius Pagitt. His moving letter to the Lord Admiral. Beza vindicates himself to the Archbishop in respect of this Church. The Archbishop to the Bishops, for catechising and confirming children. The Minister of the French Protestant Church applies himself to the Archbishop. Bishops consecrated. Visitations. A controversy between Mr. Broughton and Dr. Reynolds. The Archbishop, umpire. His judgment of Broughton, and his books. Makes an order for St. John's and Herbaldown Hospitals in Canterbury.

Dean of St. Paul's and Dr. Andrews sent to confer with Udal, &c. Condemned.

OTHERS there were of this faction, whose zeal for the discipline, and boldness in uttering their minds by libels against the government, and dispersing of the same, made them guilty of felony for sowing sedition: for which they underwent their trials, and were condemned to die, in March, 33. Eliz. These were Udal, a Minister, (of whom somewhat was said the last year,) Newman, Hodgkins, and others. But the Lords of the Privy Council (the motion being first made to them by the Lord Chancellor Hatton) had that compassion and mercy for them, that, if they could be brought to relent, and confess their faults and errors, they should be propounded by them to the Queen as fit objects for her clemency: otherwise, it was their determination that execution should be done upon them. And to bring them to this, they concluded upon the means, that some able Divines should now, after their condemnation,

be sent to them to confer with them. For which purpose the said Lord Chancellor signified his mind to the Lord Treasurer, that he would despatch a letter to that purpose to the Archbishop, to appoint the Dean of St. Paul's and Dr. Andrews, his Chaplain, to go and confer with them. A letter was accordingly drawn up: but by a mistake, (whether wilfully done or no I know not,) it was directed for those Divines to go and confer with Cartwright and the others informed against in the Star-chamber. Which as soon as the Lord Chancellor understood, he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, "that the letter might be altered, and "drawn up speedily for Udal and the rest: because the "time of their execution, as it stood then appointed, drew "near: and since there was not such haste to confer with "those others; which might be done, he said, with more "leisure and advisement taken." And therefore, "that "he thought it best for some expedition to be used in con- "ference with them. And prayed his Lordship to give di- "rection for the speedy drawing of this letter for Udal and "the rest to that purpose; that those two reverend men "might confer with them, and that if they could, by good "persuasions, draw them to the acknowledgment of their "faults, to be set down in such a submission as the Lord "Anderson [Lord Chief Justice] should draw up, then the "Queen's mercy to be extended towards them: otherwise, "that they might repair, by the execution of justice on "them, the harm they had done in sowing sedition." This letter was dated at London, the 17th of May, 1591; and subscribed, *Your Lordship's very assured poor friend, Christopher Hatton, Canc.*

The Lord Chancellor's letter in that behalf.

What effect this visit of the Dean and the Doctor had, I do not know: but Udal had mercy shewn him in the putting off his execution, (and afterwards having a pardon by the Archbishop's procurement,) till at length he died a natural death in the prison of the White Lion in Southwark, in the year 1592, when the grant of his liberty was near effected. 375

For when he would not be persuaded by Baron Clark

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

and Sergeant Puckring, then Judges of the Assize for Surry, (before whom he was found guilty by the verdict of the jury,) to make such a submission, drawn up by them, as might import his renouncing of those doctrines and opinions of his, dangerous both to the Church and State, for which he was indicted; he was so far favoured as to draw up his own submission in his own words. But it was such as would not answer the expectation of his judges; while he therein insisted still upon his own innocency; and only entreating them to intercede with the Queen for his pardon, professing in general his profound obedience and love to her, and the blessing of her government. So that sentence of death was pronounced against him. And notwithstanding many solicitations to her Majesty in his behalf, she remained averse towards him, for his adhering so stiffly, and that even to the death, to the *discipline*, which subjected the Queen herself to the censures of the eldership, and maintaining that she had nothing to do in spiritual matters. To bring Udal therefore to a better confession of his loyalty to the Queen, and to his rejection of such like disciplinarian principles, Sir Walter Rawleigh, who bore a good-will to him, undertook, in the month of February this year, to deal with him; shewing him certain points, wherein he exhorted him to set down what his judgment was, in order to the pacifying of the Queen towards him. Which accordingly Udal did, and sent them to him. The paper whereof, found among the MSS. of the Lord Keeper Puckring, (and communicated to me by one who hath deserved well of this and other my writings,) was as followeth:

Sir Walter Rawleigh moves Udal to make a declaration of some points.

Udal's confession and declaration thereof. MSS. Puckr. Rev. T. Bak. B. D.

"I. I do believe, and have often preached, that the "Church of England is part of the true visible Church of "Christ; and that the preaching of the word and admin- "istration of the Sacrament therein are the holy ordi- "nances of God, profitable and comfortable unto every "one that is rightly partaker thereof. In which regard I "have been, and do yet desire to be, a preacher in the "same Church; and have communicated in the sacra-

" ments and prayers therein, for the space of seven years " at Kingston, and about a year at Newcastle upon Tyne, " immediately before mine imprisonment. And therefore " I utterly renounce from my heart the schism whereunto " the Brownists have fallen, in condemning the Church of " England, and separating themselves from communicating " in the public ministry thereof.

Anno 1591.

Renounceth the Brownists for their schism.

" II. I know no other, but that the statute laws of this " land do maintain the holy ministry of the word and sa- " craments in such manner, as any Christian may, with a " safe conscience, both administer therein, and communi- " cate therewithal. Also, the law which requireth sub- " scription to the Articles of Religion, as far as they con- " tain the doctrine of faith and sacraments, is agreeable to " the word of God.

Allows subscription to the Articles of Religion.

" III. I do believe, that, by the word of God, her Majesty " hath and ought to have supreme authority over all per- " sons, in all causes ecclesiastical and civil; to enforce " every man to do his duty, and to be obedient to every " thing that is not contrary to the word of God. And that " if the Prince should command any thing contrary to the " word of God, it is not lawful for the subjects to rebel or " resist; no, not so much as in thought: but with pa- " tience and humility to bear all the punishment laid upon " them, seeking only by prayer to God and supplication " to authority, and such peaceable means, to have faults " amended.

Owns the Queen's supreme authority.

" IV. I do believe, that, by the word of God, the Church, " rightly reformed, ought to be governed ecclesiastically " by the Ministers, assisted with Elders. This is not my " private judgment, but such as I have learned out of the " word of God, been confirmed in by the writings of most " learned and godly men of ancient and later times; and " have been practised with great peace and comfort in the " best reformed churches of Europe, and even by those " exiles which her Majesty, to her great honour, hath " hitherto protected.

Is for the government of the Church by Elders.

376

" V. I do believe, that the censure of the Church ought

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

That church censures concern the soul, not the body, &c.

"merely to concern the soul, and may not impeach any "subject, much less any prince, in the liberty of body, "goods, dominion, or any earthly privilege whatsoever. "And that the Papal excommunication, which deposeth "princes, and freeth their subjects from their allegiance, "or any part of Christian obedience to civil authority, is "blasphemous against God, injurious to all men, and di- "rectly contrary to God's word. Neither do I believe that "a Christian Prince ought otherwise to be subject to the "Church censures than our gracious Queen confesseth her- "self to be unto the preaching of the word and adminis- "tration of the sacraments, according to the doctrine of "our Church, in Mr. Nowel's Catechism and the Homily "of the *right use of the Church*, at this day appointed to "be publicly read.

"If I understand of any other thing that I am charged "to hold, as a strange and a private opinion, I would be "willing to shew my mind freely in it. For my desire is, "that her Highness might be truly informed of every thing "that I hold; should I be assured to obtain her gracious "favour: without which I do not desire to live."

Desires the Queen's favour for banishment.

And if this free declaration of his mind and judgment would not suffice, then his last request was, that this honourable person, that had thus friendly interposed himself between the Queen's displeasure and him, would obtain so much favour from her Majesty, that his sentence of death might be changed into banishment; that his blood might not be laid to the charge of the land.

His letter to Sir Walt. Rawleigh. MSS. D. Puck. Rev. T. Bak. S. T. B.

For to this tenor his letter, which he sent with the former paper, to that noble Knight, ran; (which may be worth reading;) *viz.* "That he thanked his Honour for his great "and honourable care over him, and for his good; whereof "he trusted he should never be ashamed, most humbly "beseeching him to be a means to appease her Majesty's "indignation, conceived against him by reason of some "accusation untruly suggested. For God was his witness, "as he wrote, that he never had any earthly thing in so "precious account, as to honour her Highness, and to draw

" her subjects to acknowledge, with all thankfulness, the " exceeding blessings bestowed upon them by her happy " government. And that of this, he trusted, his adversaries " would be witnesses when he was dead. That he had " sent unto him (as in perplexity he could upon the sud- " den) what he held concerning points, declared unto him " as from his Honour: praying, that it would please him " to make known the truth thereof unto her Highness. " And that if neither his submission heretofore declared, " nor these things now set down, would be accepted to " draw her Highness, of her gracious compassion, to par- " don him, it would then please her Majesty (that the land " might not be charged with his blood) to change his pu- " nishment from death to banishment. And thus trusting " he would vouchsafe him this favour, and that it would " please her Majesty graciously to consider of him, he " humbly took his leave. From the White Lion, Febr. 22, " 1591."

Some Turkey merchants offer to send Udal to one of their factories. Paper Office.

While Udal lay thus a long time in prison, certain merchants that traded to Turkey offered to send him into some factory of theirs abroad, to officiate as Minister there, in case he might obtain liberty and leave. To which the Archbishop did freely condescend: herein the Lord Keeper and the Earl of Essex gave their assistance also. Nothing was wanting but the Queen's favour to release and pardon him. Which occasioned Udal to write to the Lord Treasurer (who was as forward, no doubt, as the rest in this work of mercy) to this purport; " That his lamentable " state, having been now above three years in durance, did " constrain him humbly to beseech his good favour, being " (as he trusted) presently to obtain release from imprison- " ment: that the Turkey merchants had his consent to go " into Syria; there to remain two years with their factors, 377 " if his liberty might be obtained. And that they had got- " ten the Archbishop's consent; that the Lord Keeper had " promised his furtherance; and my Lord of Essex had a " draught of a pardon ready, when it should please God to " move her Majesty to sign the same. That the ships

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

"wherewith he was to go, were presently to depart; so "that he must either have liberty out of hand, or he could "not go at all. His humble suit therefore unto his good "Lordship was, that it would please him to move her Ma- "jesty therein; by which means he trusted it would please "her Highness to sign the same. And so subscribing, "*Your humble suppliant and poor orator, John Udal, "prisoner.*" Dated from the White Lion in Southwark, March 3, 1591.

And so things stood with Udal till the year 1592, when the whole Privy Council referred his whole cause to our Archbishop, who, it appears, about the month of June had obtained his pardon: for in that month it was drawn up by the Clerk of the assizes, according to the indictment. And then the Archbishop directed Mrs. Udal, his wife, to shew it to Sir John Puckring, now Lord Keeper, for his better security, to see if it were drawn up according to law. And, according to the Archbishop's instruction, the said prisoner sent his letter to the Lord Keeper, with the copy of his pardon: hoping his Lordship would approve it to be rightly done; and withal to beseech his Honour, in tender compassion of his heavy condition, to vouchsafe his honourable favour and furtherance therein, for the effecting of his speedy deliverance. This was dated June the 15th, 1592, from the White Lion. But his death prevented his deliverance, now ready to be obtained; and put an end to his troubles.

Pagit's troubles for refusal of subscription.

Subscription to the three articles was now required very strictly, the better to prevent the multiplying of the disaffected to the present state of the Church, and to put a stop to the dangers apprehended by the Archbishop, and other wise men, from the practices of the Puritans. But this rigorous requiring of subscription bore hard sometimes upon very peaceable and honest preachers, who duly complied with the customs and devotions of the Church enjoined; but could not so fully acquiesce therein, as to approve every particular rite and usage. This was the case of Eusebius Pagit, a lame, but a very good, quiet, and

learned man; who met with very hard usage from both sides. For his refusal of subscription he was forced to leave his living; and then taught school: which way of livelihood he was at length deprived of also. For it was now thought convenient, to prevent the influence the Puritans might have upon the minds of children, that those that took licences to teach school should first take the oath of supremacy, and subscribe the articles of the Convocation, concerning the consent of religion. And by this means the poor man was in danger of begging for his and his family's livelihood. He was known to the Lord Admiral: to whom therefore he wrote a very affecting letter, concerning his love and service to the English Church, and his abhorrence of breaking the Church's peace; thereby to stir up his Lordship's compassion the more to him. He was also known to Sir John Hawkins, the great sea Captain in those times: with whom the said Admiral had some discourse concerning him, on occasion of this present schism from the Church. Which the said Hawkins acquainted Pagit with. Which gave occasion to his writing another letter to the said Lord Admiral.

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1591.

His letter to the Lord Admiral, in behalf of himself and his conformity.

Of which I shall give some account; (especially falling within this time;) to let in the knowledge of another sort of Ministers in these days, (which went commonly under the same rank with Puritans,) who, though the established worship of this Church was not wholly agreeable to their judgments, yet had a great reverence for it, joined with it constantly, and utterly disliked all schism and division from it. In the said letter he professed, "that he never gathered, nor was present in any private conventicles, or unlawful assemblies. That he hated, abhorred, and loathed the heresies and errors that were raised, and the divisions and schisms that were made in the Church of England: which he acknowledged to be the Church of God. That 378
he resorted to the same; was present at service and preaching; was partaker of the sacraments according to the Book. And that it was but his duty: but that this behaviour and practice of his life had raised him many

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

" and divers assaults. As on the one side, by bitter com-
" plaints and sharp accusations, he had had the magistrate,
" yea, her Majesty incensed against him. That, on the
" other side, for twenty years past, the schismatics, who
" divided themselves from the Church of England, watched
" their times, took their opportunities, and laboured him
" to join with them. But that, through God's assistance,
" he ever withstood them; refusing their suit, refuting their
" opinions. That he had stayed divers from them, and
" drew many of themselves from those fancies, and brought
" them to the Church again. And that within these six
" months they made him much work, both by reading and
" writing, and conference with divers their learned men.

" That, from several holy and learned Fathers of the
" Church, he had learned not to forsake a Church which
" had some blemishes in it, no more than he would forsake
" the corn of Christ for the tares, nor the flour for the
" chaff, nor the net for the evil fish in it, nor the house of
" Christ, so full of honour, for some vessels of dishonour
" belonging unto it." And much he added to the same purpose: and then made his complaint; "that while he
" loved peace, prayed for it, and sought to live in it, others
" prepared themselves, as the Prophet said, for war. That
" he was turned out of his living upon commandment. That
" his ministry being left free, he preached without living or
" any penny stipend; his doctrine not found fault with, he
" was advised to stay: he ceased. That he taught a few
" children, to get a little bread for himself and his to eat;
" some disliked this, and wished him to stay: he obeyed,
" and forbore." He concluded, after the relation of this his lamentable condition, in an address to the said Lord for his lawful favour towards him, that he might not be turned out of house and calling, to go as an idle rogue and vagabond from door to door, to beg his bread, (as he expressed himself,) when he was able in a lawful calling to get it. This was writ in the beginning of June, while the matters against Cartwright and his fellows were hotly transacting in the Star-chamber. This letter (which may

be read at length in the Appendix) did the Lord Admiral, out of compassion of this poor man's case, send to the Lord Treasurer; among whose papers I met with it. Anno 1591.

This man, what became of him till the year 1604. I know not, (when he was instituted, by Bishop Bancroft, Rector of St. Anne and Agnes within Aldersgate,) was bred in Christ's Church, Oxon, a Chorister and a Student there, (as we are told,) in the reign of Queen Mary: writ an History of the Bible, by way of question and answer; and a Catechism; and translated Calvin's Harmony of Matthew, Mark, Luke, into English; and set forth some sermons. And was buried in the church where he had been Rector, anno 1617. He had a son, named Ephraim, a godly and learned Minister, and a writer, that suffered much in the times of the grand rebellion. Numb. XI. Athen. Oxonien. p. 357.

While the Archbishop was endeavouring, after the manner aforesaid, to suppress these malecontents against episcopacy and the Church of England in its present establishment, he receiveth, March the 8th, [*anno ineunte*,] a letter from Theodore Beza, the chief Minister of Geneva. Wherein he, by owning, with all respect, the Archbishop and the rest of the English Bishops and their government of this Church, gave a notable check to these new reformers; who bore out themselves much with his authority. It seemed to have been written by him, in answer to one from the Archbishop, blaming him for his meddling with the Church and State of England, without any lawful commission. In defence of himself he returned an answer, part whereof was as followeth. *Cæterum, Reverende mi Domine*, &c. "That whereas his Lordship thought it meet in "his letters to move them to think well of this kingdom, "and likewise the Church here, and the government there- "of; it indeed troubled both him and Sadeel [another of "the Ministers of Geneva] in some sort, as being greatly "afraid, lest some sinister rumours were brought to him 379 "concerning them; or lest what they had written of ec- "clesiastical policy, properly against that Antichristian ty- "ranny, as necessity required, might be taken by some in Beza's letter to the Archbishop in vindication of himself. Bancr. Survey, p. 134. edit. 1593.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

"that sense, as though they ever meant to compel to their "order those churches that thought otherwise than they "did of it, and the governors of them; agreeing otherwise "with them in the truth of doctrine agreeable to the word "of God: and that except those churches followed their "order, they [*viz.* Beza and the Ministers of Geneva] ac- "counted otherwise of them than their godliness, and dig- "nity, and mutual brotherhood required, &c. That such "arrogancy was far from them: and then asked this ques- "tion, *Who gave us authority over any church?* And "that it was far from them to think, (so substantial mat- "ters were kept,) that there ought nothing to be granted "to antiquity, nothing to custom, nothing to the circum- "stances of places, times, and persons." Thus did Beza and Sadeel, in the name of their church, profess to the Archbishop their respect, honour, and approbation of the Church of England. In the year 1593, other letters happened between Beza and the Archbishop; which we shall give account of in due place.

The Archbishop enjoins catechising, confirming, &c.

The Archbishop, as Metropolitan, did this year see it necessary to provide for the better instructing of the youth in the sound principles of religion; that they might be the better secured against the private diligence of seminaries to seduce the people; and also to make them peaceable subjects in the way and worship of religion established. And therefore, in the month of September, he enjoined the Bishops to provide, that the Ministers of every parish, in their respective dioceses, should catechise the children in that little catechism allowed by authority: and that parents should bring their children to the Church every Sunday and holyday in the afternoon, to the Minister, to be instructed and taught therein. He found also a great neglect among the Bishops in *confirming* of children, (that *ancient and laudable ceremony*, as he called it,) after they could say their catechism: and that at Baptism that charge was commonly omitted by him that baptized the infant, *viz.* that the baptized person should be brought to the Bishop to be confirmed. And he enjoined, that Bishops in

their visitations should make this part of their charge, and likewise their Archdeacons and officers: and that Ministers should bring the children, that had learned their catechism, to be confirmed at the Bishops' visitations, and other fit opportunities. But take the circular letter of the Archbishop, (as it ran,) to be read in the Appendix. Anno 1591. No. XII.

The Archbishop at the Privy Council, in consultation against seminaries.

As the last year the Archbishop was busy in the commission for ecclesiastical causes, with many gentlemen of the Roman Catholic religion, and sent up a certificate of what was done with them; so in December this year I find his Grace at the Privy Council, consulting about Seminary Priests and Jesuits. There had been before a commission and instructions sent down to many honest gentlemen in the several counties, to discover these dangerous persons, who lurked about in corners, and were entertained in some gentlemen's houses, and made not a few proselytes to the Pope and King of Spain. It was now thought convenient to send letters to some of the trustiest of these Commissioners, to give some private account of such as were put into the said commission; since even some of them were suspected not to be so well affected to this service as was expected, and some better affected left out: and this in order to the making a new commission, for the putting in some others. The letter sent to the Commissioners of Rutland (who were Sir James Harrington, Sir Andrew Nowel, Knights, Roger Smith, John Harrington, and Francis Harrington, Esquires) ran to this tenor:

The Privy Council's letter to the Commissioners, about fit men. Ra. Thoresby MSS.

"That whereas there was of late addressed to them and
"others, specially chosen in that county, a commission
"under the Great Seal of England, together with certain
"instructions thereunto annexed, to inquire of the secret
"repair into the realm of Seminary Priests and Jesuits,
"coming of malicious purpose to seduce divers of her Ma-
"jesty's subjects from their duties and due obedience to
"God and her Majesty, to renounce their allegiance, and 380
"to adhere to the Pope and King of Spain; as more at
"large in the said commission and instructions, and by her

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

" Majesty's proclamation in that behalf did appear: for " the better execution whereof, divers were named and ap- " pointed Commissioners; among whom, in some parts of " the realm, (as they, the Lords, were informed,) there " were some not so sound in duty and religion towards " God and her Majesty as was to be required: although " they did not resolutely judge of any in the nomination " of the Commissioners in that county; yet because it was " expedient to have the truth known, that reformation " might timely follow. Her Majesty therefore intending to " have the said commissions renewed, where cause should " so require; and therein none to be placed, but such as " should be known to be meet for that service: and that " if any were omitted, that were resident in that county, " meet to be placed in the same for the better service; " they had, upon the opinion and conceit they had of the " integrities and fidelities of them, [*i. e.* those gentlemen " to whom they writ,] thought good to be privately, by " themselves, advised and advertised, whether to their " knowledge, or by their special inquisition, to be discreet- " ly made upon the receipt hereof, there were any in that " commission known to them, or justly suspected, to be " unsound in religion; or that had their wives, children, or " any of their families recusants; or did harbour in their " houses any person or persons known or suspected to be " backward in religion: and they did hereby, in her Ma- " jesty's behalf, earnestly require them, with as much se- " crecy and diligence as they might, to certify their know- " ledge, or what they might duly learn of any such. And " that if they should find, that either the number already " appointed was not sufficient, or not so placed for their " habitation as they might deem, and to do service by due " numbers in each quarter of the country, as by the com- " mission and instructions is prescribed; or that, by their " knowledge, there were others resident in that county " meet to be employed, omitted in the same commission, " and for their dwellings fit to be added and used in this " service: they require them (*i. e.* these persons to whom

" they writ) likewise to certify their names and dwelling " places, with their opinions of the men: that, upon con- " sideration thereof had, they [of the Council] might give " order, upon the reviewing of the commission, to have " them joined with them. And so expecting their speedy " answer and certificate hereunto, they bade them heartily " farewell. From the Court at Whitehall, the 19th of De- " cember, 1591. And so subscribing,

Anno 1591.

" Your very loving friends,

" Jo. Cant.	C. Howard,	Rob. Cecyll,
" F. Cobham,	Hunsden,	J. Wolley,
" W. Burghley,	T. Heneage,	J. Fortescue."
" T. Buckhurst,		

And by way of postscript, That notwithstanding the foresaid directions, they thought it fit, they and the rest should proceed in the execution of the commission already granted.

The French Minister's account of his congregation to the Archbishop.

There was likewise, in this month of December, occasion offered to the Archbishop of some business with the Minister of the French reformed Church in London, whose name was John Castoll, a discreet and learned man: and by his intercession with the Archbishop, some favour by his means was shewn to that congregation. Henry, King of Navarre, now struggling for the crown of France, (lawfully descended to him by the death of the former king,) against a strong faction of some of his bigoted Popish subjects; the Queen of England assisted him, especially being a Protestant, with all the vigour and strength she could: knowing how much it concerned as well the safety of her own crown, as the firmer establishment of true religion. And as she and her subjects did, so she expected the French Protestants, who found safe harbour here, when they fled from their own countries for the Gospel's sake, should especially assist with a more large contribution towards the aid of that King. This, Castoll soon understood 381
from the Archbishop. But, alas! the condition of these poor *refugees* was so mean, and the necessary charges of

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

maintaining those multitudes of miserable persons, that escaped with their lives only, out of the parts of Flanders and the Low Countries, were so very heavy upon them of that Church, that it was not in their power to spare any thing to this cause, however heartily they wished well to it. This and much more did the good Minister urge to the Archbishop, who had moved this matter to him.

Their poor condition commiserated by him.

So that he had obtained an interest with the compassionate Archbishop in behalf of those poor foreigners and confessors, that they might not be burdened by imposing upon them any contribution; especially, considering also, that a great many of them of the poorer sort went over, as volunteers, to serve under the King: and that the congregation was forced to run deep into debt for the relief, in the mean time, of their wives and children. But what more particular account this careful and pious Minister gave the Archbishop of the necessitous condition of his Church at this time, may appear by what he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, (who also soon after had sent one on purpose to him for the same end,) in a well penned letter in Latin. Wherein he observed to that Lord, "that the Archbishop "had already moved him in this matter: and what an "impression the distressed condition of the French King "made upon them; being engaged in such a war for the "Church of God; Satan creating unto him so much care "and business, and stirring up almost all kingdoms to de-"throne him. But that the case of their Church was com-"passed with such circumstances, that little could be ex-"pected from them. That it consisted of strangers, de-"prived of their estates and goods, and banished from their "countries. That one part, and that the least, was French, "(more indeed in former years,) that had been most kindly "received and harboured here in England. But that those "of them that were of better condition were long since "returned home, to defend their own possessions against "the rage of their enemies. But the men of meaner con-"dition, and of age fit for war, being helped by the libe-"rality of God's people, leaving their wives and children

Castol writes to the Lord Treasurer the condition of that Church.

" to be taken care of by this Church, were gone into France " to follow the King's camp. That the rest of those that " remained among them were so exhausted by perpetual Anno 1591. " calamities, and the continual war, that it was as much as " they could do to live. Another part, and that the greater, consisting of persons born in the parts of Holland, " Artois, Flanders, and Walloons, (that is, of countries belonging to the Spaniard,) were not less needy and poor " than the rest, very few excepted. That it was God's gift " to them, that they were excellent artists in making certain sorts of manufactures: but trade and commerce being so dead, and such discouragement for merchants to " export their goods, by reason of the wars with other " countries; that even those were put under great straits " and extremities. And further, that their necessities grew " more upon them, since, besides their alms and voluntary " gifts, accustomed to be gathered, they were fain to borrow, within ten or twelve months past, a great sum of " money, that their poor might not (to their disgrace) go " a begging from door to door. And besides all this, that " they were forced of late years to make collections, to " assist the poor churches abroad, *viz.* in Mountpellier, " Nortwic, Antwerp, Ostend, Wesel, Geneva, for twenty " years past." And this was the sum of what this French Minister had acquainted the Archbishop with; and now thought fit to certify the Lord Treasurer, concerning their poor congregation; that they might avoid giving offence. And in fine, " that they esteemed it a great benefit, that " they had so great and excellent a monitor to provoke " them to Christian charity: but because of their want and " mean condition, he hoped that such was his equity and " moderation, that he would not impute unto them any " charge of sordidness or tenacity." The whole letter, so judiciously and piously written, and shewing the circumstances of that Church that remains to this day, I have put into the Appendix, with the other papers, as fit to be recorded. No. XIII.

This year were these confirmations and consecrations of 382

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591.

Bishops, and visitations of vacant dioceses. On Friday, the 27th of August, 1591, was the confirmation of the election of Gervase Babbington, S. T. P. for the see of Landaff.

Babbington consecrated Bishop of Landaff. Regist. Whitg.

And on Sunday, the 29th of the same month, he was consecrated, immediately after the morning prayer, in the chancel of the parish church of Croyden, by the Archbishop; John Bishop of London, and John Bishop of Rochester, assisting.

Coldwel consecrated Bishop of Sarum.

On Thursday, Decemb. 23, the election of John Coldwel, —— Priest, Dean of the cathedral church of Rochester, was confirmed; and on Sunday, Decemb. 26, he was consecrated Bishop of the cathedral church of St. Mary the Virgin, Sarum, by the Archbishop, in his chapel at Lambeth; John Bishop of London, Thomas Bishop of Winchester, Richard Bishop of Bristol, and John Bishop of Oxon, assisting.

Commissions for visitations, issued out this year from the Archbishop, were as follows:

Commissions to visit the deanery of Bocking.

A commission, dated June 19, 1591, to John Stil, S.T. P. Rector of Hadleigh in the deanery of Bocking, in the county of Suffolk; and to Richard Wood, S. T. P. Rector of Bocking, to visit the said deanery.

And to visit the diocese of Oxon.

A commission, from the Archbishop, to John Kennal, LL. D. Archdeacon of Oxon, or to his Official, to visit the city and diocese of Oxon.

And of Worcester.

Upon the vacation of the see of Wigorn, by the death of Edmund Freak, the last Bishop there, a commission was granted by the Archbishop to Francis Willis, S. T. P. Dean of the Church of Christ and of the blessed Virgin Mary of Worcester; appointing him his Official, to exercise all and plenary jurisdiction episcopal, in the said city and diocese.

And of Bath and Wells.

And lastly, the Archbishop gave out another commission, dated the 29th of July, to Philip Bisse and James Collington, S. T. PP. and Gilbert Born, LL. D. to visit the diocese of Bath and Wells.

I shall add one thing more, respecting our Archbishop, before I conclude this year; which hath a respect to him in a more private capacity, as a learned Divine. Hugh

Broughton, (the greatest scholar in that age for Hebrew and Jewish learning,) having a controversy in a point of sacred chronology with Dr. Reynolds, Public Professor of Divinity in Oxford, (who, in his lectures there, endeavoured to confute a book of that learned man's,) in an epistle to the Archbishop, prayed his Grace to be an honourable umpire, together with the Bishop of London, between him and the said Doctor. The contest was grounded upon a book which the said Mr. Broughton, with vast study and labour, had set forth, about the year 1584, or 1585, and dedicated to the Queen, entitled, *A Concent of Scripture*. Wherein he undertook to shew, from the holy writers, a constant agreement in several ages for matters often told in divers parts and manners. And touching that, he laid down certain principal heads, drawn through the whole body of Scripture. And in the said epistle to the Queen, he affirmed, (which was the purpose of his whole book,) that the book of God had so great an harmony, that every part of it might be known to breathe from one Spirit. And in this book he made use, he said, of all the ancient Hebrews and Greeks. And in another epistle of his to the Queen, describing this book, he wrote, that the sum thereof was, "That God had recorded the world's age from the "promise of redemption unto his performance of it."

CHAP. VII.

Anno 1591.

The Archbishop chosen an umpire in a matter of learning.

Occasioned by a book of H. Broughton's.

Divers years after, reflecting upon his Concent, thus he represented it; "That little book, that drew all the Scripture unto Christ, and shewed the use of every parcel of it, from the beginning to the end: carrying half a score of several hard and needful studies thither; and examining all authors, not only in their own tongues, but their own vein and course of study." Notwithstanding the great character and opinion the author had of his work, it seemed so odd a piece, that it came out at first with great prejudice: that even the Archbishop himself said of it to the Queen, that "it contained but the curious quirks of a "young head." Which speech coming to Broughton's ears, being an haughty conceited man, he printed this severe animadversion thereupon: "If the Prelate (said he) had

The Archbishop's report of this book to the Queen. Broughton's Works, p. 723.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591. 383

"studied one and thirty years, ever since he was Doctor, "how in one speech to shew himself extremely void of all "grounds of learning, and of all conscience for the truth, "and of all care whose ears to infect with atheism; the "tempter could hardly carry him ἐζωγρημένον into parts "more injurious to all holy writers." What further thoughts the Archbishop had of Broughton's studies, we shall see by and by.

Dr. Reynolds of Oxford confutes publicly this Concent.

But the said Dr. Reynolds, about the year 1589, in his public readings in that University, disputed against it; and asserted, that there could no chronology of times from Adam to Christ be taken from the Scriptures: and endeavoured to confute several particulars in his book, and that by heathen authority. And that he was mistaken in Daniel's seventy weeks; that the times of the kings under the Chaldeans reigns were longer than he made them; and that the times of the Jews under the Persians two hundred years were more by seventy than he made them, &c. That about Abraham's promise the times were uncertain, confused in the Judges, perplexed in the Kings; and, in short, that since we know Christ is come, we need not labour for the time.

Broughton's letter to the Archbishop of this business.

Mr. Broughton was highly provoked with Dr. Reynolds, thus to expose him in that University, while he was now absent, and abroad in Germany; and not rather to have left the matter to be argued friendly between them more privately. For Broughton had been obliged to write several tracts in vindication of his own assertion. So that it became at last a general discourse and matter of argument, not only in that University, but in London and other parts of the nation. And some were for one, and some for the other. And at length both of them had a meeting: when Broughton's adversary confessed to him, that he had not studied these matters; and promised to yield, if he saw reasons. At last, in the year 1591, he, by a letter to the Archbishop, and the Bishop of London, dated at London, Nov. 4, acquainted them with the case between Reynolds and himself; *viz.* "That it was known to all the realm

" with what vehemency and care Dr. R. had laboured to " prove, that a Concent of Scripture for certainty of chro- " nology could not be made. And that, by reason of his " credit, he drove many to deny that which they always " held. That he had writ to Dr. Robinson, Provost of " Queen's college, certain theses, which might end the " cause; and how Dr. R. was extremely culpable, to blame " him for differing from him in a matter wherein all learned " men hitherto, beside himself, had agreed: that upon this " the Doctor came to London, and shewed that he was " willing to take a judge: and that both had agreed upon " his Grace and the Bishop of London. That hereby they " might have the cause fully ended, without partiality, " clearly to the glory of God and brightness of his truth. " And that he had moved Dr. R. to send his Grace and the " Bishop his book of his lectures;" [to enable them the better to give their judgments;] " and that he himself had " sent to them withal a brief, in theses and short declara- " tions, to give an insight to the matter. And lastly, that " if this would not suffice, he was ready, by lectures, dis- " putations, or printing, to open any point hid in the cause. " And so requesting his Grace's and his Lordship's free " reports to her Majesty and the Lord Treasurer touching " the book, whereof they strove, at their convenient lei- " sure, he humbly recommended them both to the Spirit " of truth."

The Archbishop's censure of Broughton's book of Concent.

Broughton's Works, p. (161.)

What the effect of this arbitration was may be gathered from a letter of the said Broughton's to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford; that the censure of the Archbishop of Canterbury (who was by both sides chosen umpire) was, " that " never any human pains was of greater travail and dex- " terity; that against 1500 years' errors, to clear the holy " story, as the book of Concent had done." But the Archbishop's private judgment would not serve Broughton's turn, (so weighty he esteemed the matter, as well as his own reputation,) but he solicited the Queen herself, " that " she would enjoin the Archbishop to make his censure " public. And that then upon her Majesty's command-

BOOK IV.

Anno 1591. 384

"ment it would be surer; for the better strengthening of "her Majesty's subjects in love and honour of holy Scrip- "ture: which had been greatly weakened by Dr. R. call- "ing matters in question, &c. And for vindicating a truth "for the clearing of those sacred books: adding, that the "cause was not his, but the Church's."

The Archbishop allowed of some of his books seized, *viz.* Melchizedec and the Apology.

This learned man stuck to his Concent; and, by reason of the opposition made to it by some persons of known learning, he afterwards set forth some tracts, [*viz.* Melchizedec and an Apology,] in vindication of the assertions there laid down, and in refutation of his antagonists; who were especially the foresaid Dr. Reynolds and Dr. Croke. But his books being suspected to contain some heterodox doctrines, (and perhaps by some secret surmises of his ill-willers,) Bishop and Newbury, wardens of the Stationers' Company, had seized them in his own custody, and carried them away: though they were printed by allowance, paid for by himself, and carried to his own chamber. This dealing he complained of to the Lord Treasurer; urging that they had not a word against religion or policy; nor were bitter against any man. And that the Archbishop being desired, of his honour and learning, to judge of them, said to one Mr. Hopkinson, that if they had been brought to him, he would have allowed them; and would have sent to those stationers to bring them home to the owner. But notwithstanding, the said stationers refused to do so, without their warrant for it from the Lord Treasurer's word. This, therefore, Broughton desired of the said Lord, by a letter; therein signifying to him, "that he thought he "might in justice require so much at his hand; since his "book was written upon urgent provocation of two Doc- "tors, that were extreme against themselves, and her Ma- "jesty's grounds of religion, the stay of Scripture, in de- "fence of a book, [*viz.* the Concent,] which he had dedi- "cated to no less person than her Majesty: and that "therein [in the said book] he was sure that posterity "might see chief points in few hours, which cost him "many years. Wherein also (as he related his matter to

His own account of them to the Lord Treasurer.

" that Lord) he had settled a concent of Jew and Gentile, " and of Moses and the Evangelists; even as all ages un- " derstood them. That he chose two points to dash all " their strife, to spare their fame, to close up the matter: " that the learned might see a victory, and the simple " might think that there was no great variance. And those " he lapt up in a treatise of Melchizedec; dealing against " Dr. Croke: not, where soonest he might be disgraced; " but where learned men being of his mind, his fame should " less be annoyed, though he were deceived. And that Dr. " Reynolds, who strove, that *si angelus dixisset post oc-* " *ties* 70 *annos excidetur Christus, hic præcisè et propriè* " *locutus esset angelus*, might not be known to be so cul- " pable; but that convinced in one word, that Daniel ex- " pressly telleth that the angel made him understand; by " his own grant should yield: who granted, that if Daniel " knew his own meaning, and rightly knew what the angel " meant, the words were to be taken properly. And thus " he thought therefore of a name, *viz.* Apology: sparing " learned men. But that the suppressing of his books " wrought them harm. For that he was forced to call " them both to account, and to object an hundred theses " of great importance against each of them; whereby all " learned condemned them both." And in fine, after fur- ther words used by him in his said letter, prayed his Lord- ship, " that he would send word to these stationers, to " deliver him that which by law they could not take away, " and to let them pass under his protection: to mitigate " the rumours risen against the learned men." I repeat the more of it, being taken out of a collection of his letters in MS. in honour to the memory of that very learned, though morose, man.

His hundred theses.

Part of Dr. Reynolds' controversy with our learned man was, as appears above, about the punctual time of the fulfilling of Daniel's prophecy of the LXX weeks. Upon which he had wrote a commentary, and had prepared it for the public. But this book being in pursuit of his Concent, and likely to beget further differences, to the disturb-

His commentary upon Daniel receives some stop by the Archbishop.

BOOK IV.

ing of the peace of the Church, the Archbishop sent to the stationers to hinder the printing of it. This the learned man took grievously; saying, that this act of the Archbishop had caused many to blaspheme the truth, [meaning, to speak contemptibly of his exposition of Daniel.] And D. Saravia, being a messenger between the Archbishop and him, he plainly told him, "that the Prelate used more "authority than the Queen herself had to lend him;" [*i. e.* to forbid the publishing of the holy Scriptures, and their true sense;] "and that the good of her own kingdom might "not be hindered by any authority. And that if the Arch-"bishop could tell him where he missed, he would thank "him. Otherwise, if he hindered, the work should be "printed elsewhere; and himself blamed for hindering the "Queen's common good." When the Archbishop had been told this by Saravia, he sent him back this answer, (as Broughton himself had related it,) "That it were better the "truth of Daniel were hid, than antiquity should be dis-"graced by missing." Meaning, that the ancient writers of the Church should be exposed, by his new comment, as erroneous interpreters of that prophecy. But, however, Daniel came forth, by that Prelate's better advice, (as he said,) and by his authorizing, and his own pains therein, dedicated to the Lords of the Privy Council. They all, except the Archbishop, sent him several words of special favour. And some of them believed, he had made the Scripture as clear as any other book. Thus indifferently affected stood the Archbishop at present towards Broughton; though his exquisite knowledge in Hebrew and Jewish learning, and ability in giving the sense of abstruse places of Scripture, as it convinced the Archbishop in some points, so brought him afterwards into a greater esteem of him.

Anno 1591.

385

Epist. to the Queen. Broughton's Works, p. 728.

Two hospitals, St. John's in the North-gate, and St. Nicolas Herbaldown, situate a mile out of the West-gate, near Canterbury, both under the Archbishop's care and inspection, were in some disorder at this time. Which was, that the children of such poor men and women that were harboured there were often left, upon their parents' death, to

Makes an injunction for St. John's and Herbaldown.

be burdensome to the hospitals. Which, when the Archbishop was informed of, he thought fit to make an injunction for the redress thereof: which was subscribed and sealed by him, and was as followeth, being taken from the original:

" Whereas I have received certain information, that di-
" vers inconveniences are grown, and like to grow daily, to
" the two hospitals of Herbaldown and St. John's, by the
" children of such brothers and sisters as have lived in
" them; for that after the death of their parents they are
" left as orphans in the said hospital, to the great disquiet
" and charge of the poor brethren and sisters there: I have
" thought good to set down this order and decree, for the
" redress of this disorder and inconvenience: that here-
" after there be no children admitted into the same hospi-
" tals; but in case the parents be admitted, as brethren
" and sisters, into them, they shall otherwise provide for
" the bringing up of the said children; and not charge or
" trouble the said hospitals with them. Which order I do
" will to be inviolably kept, and to be registered in either
" of the said hospitals, for the better observation thereof.
" Given under my hand and seal at Lambhith, the 20th of
" May, 1591. Anno R. Eliz. 33.

Examined. " Jo. Cantuar."

This letter of order and decree was sent, in the same words, and bearing the same date, to both the hospitals: and it is the same with the third decree among the statutes of the Archbishop's hospital of Croyden.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. VIII.

386 *The Archbishop requires a certificate concerning the Clergy from the Bishops. Speeches in Parliament against and for the Bishops. A speech and letter of Sir Francis Knollys on this argument. Lewin, the Civilian, his speech about Bishops' government in monarchies. This bill stopped, the Queen being displeased with the Parliament for meddling in matters of the Church.*

Anno 1592. The Archbishop writes to the Bishops for certificates of their Clergy.

A PARLIAMENT being within a month to come together, to prevent as much as might be such complaints against the Clergy, (as now were likely to be made by the faction, as had usually been done before,) of ignorance and insufficiency; the Queen (moved, as is probable, by the Archbishop) required now speedily, before the Parliament sat, an exact account of all the Ministers in general. Wherefore, in the month of January, the said Archbishop wrote a circular letter to all the Bishops of his province, to make, each of them, a particular certificate, to be sent up to him, to deliver to the Queen, of all the Ministers, beneficed or Curates, in their respective dioceses; their names, their degrees in School, their learning, their conversation; whether preachers or no; and if not preachers, of what tolerable learning they were, or otherwise; and which of them they had themselves admitted, and in what time or year. That so the Queen might understand the state and quality of all her Clergy in England. And especially that she might know how her commandment was observed, that she had in open Parliament given her Bishops; namely, to take heed for the future what persons they admitted into the ministry: because it had been reported, that as unmeet Ministers had been admitted since that commandment as before. And concerning making this certificate, the Archbishop gave the Bishops, in the same letter, a charge, that they should not fail thereof, or do otherwise in their certificates than they should be able to stand to and justify. And this to be done notwithstanding any cer-

tificates of that nature made before, and sent him. And that they should be done in that due order and form as might be fit to deliver to her Majesty. Moreover, he required them to certify whom they had deprived for insufficiency and lewdness of life. And in the end of his letter, as though he foresaw a storm again likely to fall upon the Churchmen in the ensuing Parliament, he urged the Bishops to come to the Parliament, and by no means to absent themselves: for that their presence would be necessary, to answer for themselves; as also for the public service and good of the Church. This whole letter, addressed to one of the Bishops, *viz.* of Gloucester, (the like to which was sent unto the rest,) may be read in the Appendix. Num. XIV.

Anno 1592.

In the month of February the Parliament sat. And therein the Puritan party did again make a vigorous effort against the hierarchy, as was expected. And a book now appeared, the better to serve their purpose, written (or rather owned and patronized) by Sir Francis Knollys, against the *superiority* of Bishops, whereof some notice hath been taken before: no question now dispersed, as much as might be, that the Commons might be the more prejudiced against that order. Which book the said Knight had also sent to the Lord Treasurer, to prepossess him, if he could. But let us look into the House. The last day but one of February, Mr. Morice, Attorney of the Court of Wards, made a speech here against certain abuses, (as he pretended,) now used in the Clergy's government. This speech, I make no doubt, was the sum of what he had drawn up the last year, and gave the Archbishop a copy of. Upon which the Archbishop and himself had some discourse, as we shewed before. "He moved the House "touching the hard course of the Bishops, and other ec- "clesiastical judges in their courts, used towards sundry "learned and godly Ministers and Preachers of the realm; "by way of inquisition, subscription, and binding absolu- "tion;" [that is, when absolved and set free, yet binding them with bonds for their future behaviour;] "contrary, "he said, to the honour of God, the regality of her Ma-

The Parliament are against the Bishops' power.

387

Morice's speech against the Bishops' courts. D'Ewes' Journal, p. 474.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

" jesty, the laws of the realm, and the liberties of the sub-
" jects of the same. That they were compelled, upon their
" own oaths, to accuse themselves in their own private ac-
" tions, words, and thoughts; which they must do, should
" they take such oaths. Because they knew not to what
" questions they should answer, till after the time they
" were sworn. And that also, after such examinations,
" and such accusations of themselves, they were proceeded
" against by deprivations, degradations, or suppressions.
" Or, that if they refused to take such oaths, then they
" were committed to prisons, and there kept and detained
" at the pleasure of those that committed them: not ab-
" solving or releasing them, until first they should have
" taken a corporal oath of their canonical obedience to
" their Ordinaries. And then he shewed further at large
" the great inconveniences thereby grown unto the free
" subjects of the realm. And in the end, prayed a con-
" sultation to be had therein by the House, for redress of
" the said enormities." And offered unto the Speaker two bills: the one concerning the said inquisition, subscription, and offering of oaths: and the other concerning imprisonment upon refusal thereof. Which latter he prayed might be presently read.

Dalton defends the Bishops' government.

But such in the House as were favourers of the Church and its episcopal jurisdiction, were not wanting to defend it. Of this sort were the Civilians that were members: and of common lawyers Mr. Dalton was one, a man very famous for pleading and counsel in causes of law in those times; and who remained always very tight in the Parliament House to the Bishops. He opposed Mr. Morice's motion; and spoke with earnestness against his bill. " It
" was hard, he said, upon a sudden to answer a long pre-
" meditated speech; but that, as he was able, he would say
" what he thought of the bill exhibited. That it pretended
" great things in shew, touching the hinderance of God's
" service, and derogation of her Majesty's prerogative, to
" the overthrowing of our laws, and violating our liberties.
" But that there was no such thing to be found in the mat-

" ter spoke against. That it was easy to make of a mole-
" hill a mountain in words, and to make a great and dan-
" gerous thing of nothing. For that the State had always
" stood upon this government: and so shewed, how eccle-
" siastical government was distinct from the temporal."
And expressed further his great dislike of moving this matter, because before this they had received strait commandment from her Majesty not to meddle with things concerning the reformation of the Church and State of this realm. And therefore that in his judgment the bill ought to be suppressed.

Speeches of others.

Sir John Wolley, the Queen's Secretary, also spake against the bill, disallowing the matter in it; and taking it as too busy a meddling in a thing so forbidden by her Majesty.

Sir Francis Knollys, Mr. Treasurer to the Queen, spake and allowed the bill; that whereas it was condemned, as seeking the overthrow of a member of the State, and so against the law, it tended, he said, in his opinion, but to the reforming of abuses, and restraining of the Prelates. That if they meddled against the laws, they should incur a *premunire*. This is very imperfectly and defectively set down in D'Ewes' Journal: which Knollys' own letter, which follows, will supply.

Sir F. Knollys acquaints the Lord Treasurer with these speeches in the House;

The same zealous gentleman the next day gave account what his thoughts were of this matter, in a letter to the Lord Treasurer: and particularly taking notice of Mr. Dalton's answer to Mr. Morice: and sending the said Lord withal a book of his own collections, touching her Majesty's supreme government: " Which, as he said, began
" now to be impugned in the Lower House of Parliament 388
" by the Civilians, and also especially by the said Mr.
" Dalton, the lawyer and counsel; impugning a speech of
" Mr. Morice, the Attorney of the Court of Wards, deli-
" vered as yesterday against certain abuses now used in
" the government of the Clergy. That hereby it seemed
" that these Civilians, and other confederates of the Clergy
" government, would fain have a kind of monarchy in the

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

" said government, as was in the temporality. The which " Clergy government they would have to be exempted " from the temporal: saying, they spake not against the " Prince's government touching the supremacy. The " which difference, he added, his Lordship was better ac- " quainted withal than he. He would say no more: but " that in his opinion, Mr. Morice spake but modestly and " wisely, and warily and truly, touching the abuses in the " government of the Clergy at that present." This letter was dated the last of February. Subscribed, *Your Lordship's to command, F. Knollys.*

And his own speech against Bishops' courts.

This preeminence of Bishops was such a disgust to this Knight, that soon after (this Parliament still sitting) he put himself to the pains of another long letter to the same nobleman, (and was one of the last letters he wrote to him,) for his further information; and was the sum of what he said in the House. Wherein he gave a more particular account of the managery of this point of the power of Bishops, *viz.* of reducing them in England to their true state and due dependence upon the Prince, and to shew their undue claimed superiority. And where he could not forbear to make some close reflection upon our Archbishop and his book. " That he was in the Parliament time in " the 25th year of King Henry VIII. In which time all " the Clergy, as well Bishops as others, made an humble " submission unto King Henry VIII. acknowledging his " supremacy, and detesting the usurpation of the Bishop " of Rome's authority. Upon which submission general " of the Clergy, the King gave unto the said Bishops the " same ample rule that before they had under the Pope " over their inferior brethren: saving, that the same rule " was abridged by statute with this parenthesis following; " that is to say, *without offending of the prerogative royal* " *of the Crown of England, and the laws and customs of* " *the realm.* In the latter end of which statute it was " added, that whosoever offendeth in any part of that sta- " tute, and their aiders, counsellors, and abettors, they did " all fall into penalty of the *premunire.* He then added,

" after he had recited this statute in the Parliament House, " declaring, that in King Henry the Eighth's days, after " this there was no Bishop that did practice superiority " over their inferior brethren. And that in King Edward's " days the same Bishops obtained a statute, whereby they " were authorized to keep their courts in the King's name. " The which statute was repealed in Queen Mary's days, " and was not revived in her Majesty's time that now is. " Whereupon it was doubtful, he said, to him, by what au- " thority the Bishops did keep their courts now in their " own name. Because it was against the prerogative " royal of the Crown of England, that any man should " keep a court without sufficient warrant from the Crown " of England.

" Whereunto, as he continued, he was answered, that " the Bishops did now keep their courts by *prescription.* " That it was true that the Bishops might prescribe, that " King Henry VIII. gave them authority by the statute of " the 25th year of King Henry VIII. aforesaid, to have au- " thority and rule over their inferior brethren, as amply as " they had in the Pope's time. But this, he said, was no " special warrant for them to keep their courts as they " did now in their own names, to his knowledge. That " this was the cause that made them obtain a statute in " King Edward's days to keep their courts by, in the " King's name. Now it was, he said, a strange allegation, " that the Bishops should claim authority at this present " to keep their courts in their own name, as they did, by " prescription; because the said statute of the 25th year " did restrain them generally from offending of the prero- " gative royal of the Crown of England, and the laws and " customs of the realm. And no man could justly keep a " court without a special warrant from the Crown of Eng- 389 " land, as before was said: and that the general liberty " given by King Henry VIII. to the Bishops, to rule and " govern as they did in the Pope's time, was no sufficient " warrant for the Bishops to keep their courts in their own " names by prescription, as he took it. And that there-

BOOK IV. Anno 1592.

" fore the Bishops had done wisely, if they had sought a " warrant by statute to keep their courts in the Queen's " name, as the Bishops did in King Edward's days.

" In the which time, as he proceeded, Archbishop Cran- " mer did cause Peter Martyr and Bucer to come over into " this realm to be placed in the two Universities, for the " better instruction of the Universities in the word of God. " And that Bishop Cranmer did humbly prefer these " learned men, without any challenge to himself of any su- " perior rule in this behalf over his inferior brethren. And " that the time had been, that no man could carry away " any grant from the Crown of England by general words; " but that he must have had special words to carry the " same by, from the Crown of England. Therefore how " the Bishops were warranted to carry away the keeping " of their own courts by prescription, it passed, he said, " his understanding."

His disproof of the government of Bishops.

The Lord Treasurer had, it seems, some discourse with Sir Francis about this argument, and told him, that the Bishops had lately forsaken their claim of superiority over their inferior brethren to be by God's own ordinance; and that now they did only claim superiority over them from her Majesty's supreme government. To which he now gave this reply, " That if this were true, then it were re- " quisite and necessary, that the Lord Archbishop of Can- " terbury that then was, should recant his saying in his " book of the great volume against Cartwright, where he " said in plain words, by the name of Dr. Whitgift, that " *the superiority of Bishops was God's own institution.* " Which saying, he said, did impugn her Majesty's su- " preme government directly. And therefore that it was " retracted plainly and truly. For that Christ plainly con- " fessed, that his kingdom was not of this world. And " therefore that he gave no worldly rule or preeminence " unto his Apostles, but the heavenly rule, which was to " preach the Gospel, saying, *Ite et prædicate in omnem* " *mundum. Quicunque credidit*, &c. But the Bishops " did cry out, saying, that Cartwright and his fellows

" would have no government. So that the Bishops cared " for no government, but for worldly and forcible govern- " ment over their brethren: which Christ himself never " gave to his Apostles; but made them subject to the " rule of princes; who ought not to be rejected. Saving, " that they might answer to princes, that *they might ra-* " *ther obey God than man.* And yet in no wise to reject " the Prince; but take up their cross to follow Christ."

All these words did Mr. Treasurer use in his letter to the said Lord, besides the account he gave therein of his speech in the Parliament, upon occasion of the bill brought in against the Bishops and their courts. Which I have the rather set down here at length, to shew the sum of what was commonly and zealously urged by the Puritans against this venerable order: who made use of this courtier for the bringing about their purpose, and supplied him (no doubt) with his arguments.

Dr. Lewin's speech in the House in behalf of the Bishops. D'Ewes' Journal.

In one of the foresaid letters, the Civilians are mentioned as taking the part of the Bishops, in their speeches in the Parliament upon the bill against them and their courts. One of these was Dr. Lewin; who spake well in their behalf, and in answer to the pretended abuses of their government, so much aggravated by Mr. Morice. And that the merits of the cause on both sides may the better appear, I cannot omit some brief account of his speech:

Jurisdiction.

" That this eversion of Bishops had been long sought. And " in that shooting at their jurisdiction, their aim was at " their places; being no more able to stand the one with- " out the other, than a house without a foundation. Then " he entered into a discourse of government. And that in " the most famous monarchies of the world, this govern- " ment, then exercised by Bishops, had been used. Fur- " ther, that Bishops were such a part of the body politic, " as without them it could be no body. Then as to *in-* 390 " *quisition,*" [*viz.* interrogatories upon oath,] " he proved it " lawful, because it had been so long used, and in the " greatest monarchies allowed. And shewed, how the " way of trial anciently by accusation was found inconve-

BOOK IV.

"nient: and then was changed into inquisition. And that "if he looked into the laws of the realm, it was altogether Anno 1592. "by inquisition in courts, baron and leets; and in the Inquisition. "King's courts, and in the Star-chamber. So that this "course was as lawful in the ecclesiastical as in the tem- "poral law.

Subscription. "That *subscription*" [the other practice of Bishops, objected against by Morice] "was a thing that Ministers "were bound unto by statute. That it was used in the "Church of Geneva. And so as well allowable here in "this Church.

Absolution. "And as for *absolution*, termed *binding;* it was no "other than in the common law. For in the writ *De ex-* "*communicato capiendo*, the party absolved was to be "sworn *ad servandum jus*. And that this oath to perform "the law in this absolution was not grievous. Whereas "otherwise the party accused was to find pledges for the "same. Nay, that it was a liberty for him, that upon his "oath he might be freed. Therefore that as to the bill, he "thought it fittest, that it should be first considered on by "the Bishops and Judges of the realm, before it were read "in the House."

Cecil declares the Queen's care for redressing abuses in the Clergy. At length Sir Robert Cecil, one of the Secretaries, for the stifling of this bill, shewed how the Queen herself had already taken care for the redressing any disorders in her Clergy. And therefore hinted, that it must needs be displeasing to her, as taking the work out of her own hands. For his speech was to this purport; "That he knew not "how to allow of it, because the Queen had straitly for- "bidden to meddle in such cases. Yet she, not forgetting "the cause, had in her excellent wisdom taken care and "provided, that redress should be had of things [in the "Church] that were amiss. To which end, he said, before "the Parliament was summoned, she had directed her let- "ters to the Archbishop, to certify her of the qualifications "of the Clergy throughout the kingdom. That therefore "her Highness' care for their good was prevented, pre- "venting their hasty speaking of things before their time:

" that surely therefore such dealing was not fit: and her " Majesty could not but be offended at it. And that the " bill, though he protested he knew it not, were fittest to " be recommended to her Majesty, and so that way re- " commended to them." The bill at last was not received in the House; but left with the Speaker, Sir Edward Coke: from whom the Queen herself sent for it. And thus for that time that storm went over from the Archbishop and his brethren.

Anno 1592.

CHAP. IX. 391

Beal, Clerk of the Council, vindicates his doings in the Parliament against the Bishops. His letter to that end. A Convocation. Dr. Andrews preaches before them. Contents of his sermon. Address of Deans and Prebendaries of the new foundations. Visitation of the hospitals of Saltwood and Hyth: and All Souls college, Oxon. A Bishop Suffragan of Colchester consecrated. Bishops confirmed and consecrated. Vacations of dioceses, and visitations of them. A copy of the Ecclesiastical Polity *presented to the Lord Treasurer by the author, Mr. Hooker. The Archbishop concerned in a case between the Lord Sandes and his Lady.*

The Queen forbids Beal the Court, who appeared in the Parliament against the Bishops.

As we have before related how one of the Queen's courtiers, (*viz.* Knollys,) both in this Parliament and in his letters, had shewn his dislike of the Bishops, and their pretended illegal practices; so I have something to say of another courtier, namely, Robert Beal, Clerk of the Queen's Council, an old antagonist of the Archbishop: who still kept his angry principles against him and his order; and made it now again manifest, both by his carriage this Parliament, and in declaring more largely his opinion of them and their government, by his letter to the same Lord to whom Knollys had wrote before. For his appearing so openly in the House against the Bishops, which he knew

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

was so displeasing a matter to the Queen, and also for making some objections to the subsidy bill, she was very angry with him, and commanded him by the Lord Treasurer to absent from Court and Parliament. Upon which Beal wrote a long letter to the said noble Peer, the Parliament yet sitting, endeavouring to vindicate himself, and giving a large relation of his deserts, and of divers matters well worthy the perusing, especially concerning the Church, the constitution, and ecclesiastical laws, and the practice of spiritual courts, the oath *ex officio*, &c. all which he endeavoured to overthrow. And therefore I shall not think much, however long it be, to give the tenor of it.

His letter thereupon to the Lord Treasurer. MSS. Eccles. penes me.

" That his Lordship might be pleased to understand, " that according to her Majesty's pleasure, delivered by " his Lordship unto him, he had forborne to come to the " Court and Parliament House, daily and hourly expecting " to be sent for; for the answering of the other matter, " for which some further displeasure seemed, he said, to " be conceived against him.

" For the former cause, seeing in his first speech in the " House he delivered his opinion to be, that in a generality " a conference was not to be refused, and had only mis- " conceived the representer, &c. And touching the hin- " derance of the subsidy, when his words, he said, were " expressly to the contrary, he marvelled what cause there " was to think, that he intended any such undutiful action, " &c.

" For the second point, which he took to be the princi- " pal cause of his restraint from the Court and Parliament; " *viz.* that he should be a plotter of a new ecclesiastical " government; he did desire, he said, and of long time " had desired, nothing more, than that he might be heard, " how maliciously and falsely, from time to time, he had " been and was slandered in that behalf. That he had " been made heretofore the author of Stubbs's book; after- " ward of the Abstract; then of the New Martin; of the
392 " Supplication; and of every such other book, as it would " please them to lay to his charge. That he had been, as

" his Lordship knew, charged by the Lady Russel with " conspiracies and libels of other men's devisings: and yet " never called to his answers. That he could in a good Anno 1592. " conscience protest before God and his angels, and the " whole world, that no man was able to touch him with " any such crime justly and truly. That he had always " abhorred and detested such doings.

" And to descend particularly to the ecclesiastical go- " vernment, he offered, that if any man could prove, that " he ever assented to any new plot of reformation, or con- " sented to have the present estate altered, to have no fur- " ther favour than to be hanged at the court gates.

" That in Parliament, and out of Parliament, he had al- Not for the new re- formation. " ways misliked such new devices. That he had shunned " such companies; and openly and privately declared, that " he thought the law standing was sufficient, if it were " well executed. For if the ministry, as he added, had " been made according to the book of orders, prescribed " to the Bishops in the first year of her Majesty's reign, " the statute of the thirteenth, and their own canons, the " Church would not have been pestered with such a num- " ber of ignorant and offensive Ministers. That if, accord- " ing to the laws of the realm and their own canons, non- " residences and pluralities had been restrained, the people " would have been better taught. And would not have " followed that apostasy and recusancy; which a man " might lament, he said, to be so increased through the " realm, by their not teaching the people committed to " their charge. That if, according to her Majesty's Injunc- " tions and Articles of *anno primo*, the catechising of " children both by Curates and Bishops had been used, as " was prescribed, to make them to have a savour of true " religion, there should not (as good Bishop Cranmer truly " said in the Preface of his Catechism) have needed so " many laws, injunctions, or proclamations. Nor would " Jesuits and Seminaries have infected and seduced so " many of her Majesty's natural, and in her time born sub- " jects, as they had done.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

A necessary doctrine. King Henry's book.

"That he had ever said the like of the disorders that "were in the Church. That we had laws enough, might "the laws be duly executed. And yet, had he desired a "further reformation by law, what had he desired but that "which King Henry VIII. taught in his book, entitled, "*A necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian "Man:* allowed both by the Lords spiritual and tem- "poral, and Commons in the Parliament: and published "in print, in these words: *That it apperteineth to Chris- "tian kings and princes, for the discharge of their office "and duty towards God, to endeavour themselves to re- "duce the Church unto the old limits, and pristin estate of "that power, which was given them by Christ, and used "in the primitive Church. For it is out of doubt that "Christ's faith was then most firm and pure; and the "Scriptures of God were then best understood, and vertue "did then most abound, and excel. And therefore that it "must needs follow, that the customs and ordinances, then "used and made, be more conformable and agreeable unto "the true doctrin of Christ, and more conducing unto the "edifying and benefit of the Church of Christ, than any "customs or laws used or made by the Bishop of Rome, "or any other, addicted to that see, and usurped power "sith that time,* &c. What had he desired (as he asked "further) but that which was warranted by law: that is, "two statutes in the time of King Henry VIII. one in the "time of King Edward, and another in the beginning of "her Majesty's reign; for the reforming of the ecclesias- "tical law: which in open Parliament stood still charged "to contain many things against the law of God, the pre- "rogative of the Crown, and the law and liberties of this "land?

The ecclesiastical law.

"Wherefore seeing it had always been taken to be a "good maxim in matter of state, to commit as much as "may be to the law written; and to leave as little as may "be to the person of the Judge; what error should he have "committed, if he had wished, that, according to the said "statutes, an ecclesiastical law might have been so per-

" fectly set down, rather than the Pope's law continued " still; and the discretion left to such as through ignorance " and affection many times did err? That otherwise he " had framed no plots, neither of himself nor with any " others. Anno 1592.

" One thing, he said, he called to remembrance, that 393
" about four or five years past, when the late Lord Chan- Anno 1588.
" cellor [Sir Christopher Hatton] and others earnestly Book of articles made by the Bishops in King Henry's time.
" went about to have enforced a subscription to certain
" articles throughout the whole realm, (which thing, if it
" had not been stayed, was like to cause as great a di-
" vision as ever was in the realm,) he sent to his Lordship
" a book made by the Bishops, confirmed by Parliament,
" and published in the time of King Henry VIII. directly
" detesting and condemning one of the articles whereto
" the said subscription was required: and which is sith er-
" roneously maintained in sundry of their books lately pub-
" lished; contrary to her Majesty's crown and dignity.
" By which book he had heard, he said, her Majesty was
" moved to stay that perilous device. And he thanked
" God, the realm had continued in better quiet sith.

" That about the same time also he sent unto his Lord- Collection of notes against the proceedings *ex officio* by oath.
" ship a summary collection of certain notes against the
" manner of proceeding *ex officio* by oath. Which by a
" book very lately published in print, [by Dr. Cosins, as it
" seems,] against a treatise of Mr. Morice, he perceived
" was also come to their hands," [communicated probably to the Archbishop by the Treasurer,] " without his privity
" or consent. For then, he said, he would have digested
" it otherwise. But as it was, he was not ashamed of
" what he did. For that he touched no man; he made no
" new plots; he wished a charitable reconciliation in these
" dangerous days; and the proceedings in causes ecclesi-
" astical to be according to law, and her Majesty's com-
" missions ecclesiastical.

" That the question was then handled by some Civilians, The question handled by Civilians, how?
" but without the allegation of any law or canon at all.
" That the common law of the realm was so wrested and

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

"disgraced, as that Fitz-Herbert was charged to have al-
"leged things falsely for law, in his book of *Natura Bre-*
"*vium:* and the book of the Register censured to be no
"law, nor of any credit at all.

New Reply.

"That in the New Reply many leaves were frivolously
"spent, to prove things that appertained nothing to the
"matter. As among the rest, that the Ordinaries had had
"of long time a manner of proceeding *ex officio:* which
"had never been denied unto them. The question was,
"whether their proceeding *ex officio* might be by the
"oath of the party, or no? And that it was a childish and
"unlearned *paralogism, à dicto simpliciter ad dictum se-*
"*cundum quid;* to say, there was a proceeding *ex officio,*
"*ergo,* it must be by the oath of the party. Let them all
"answer, added he, whether there were any more than the
"two manners of proceeding *ex officio:* the one in the
"first book of the Decretals of Innocentius III. with the
"oath of the party, as appeared by the text: and another
"in the sixth book of Bonifacius VIII. in matters of faith
"and heresy, by oath, *Cum periculum est accusatori:*
"and not in any other case. That the first, as it was set
"down, they denied not to the Ordinary. And that there-
"of the place of the Register, Fitz-Herbert, and the books
"of the years, were to be understood. The other, by the
"oath of the party, was but in case of heresy only: and
"never exercised in England, until the second year of
"King Henry IV. it was enforced as law, without the con-
"sent of the Commons, (and so no law indeed,) by the
"pride and malice of Thomas Arundel, Archbishop of Can-
"terbury, and his successors, until the 25th year of King

Oath *ex officio* abrogated.

"Henry VIII. when it was after great deliberation utterly
"abrogated; as might appear as well by the statute of the
"*submission* of the Clergy, and for heresy in that King's
"time; and also by the articles then set forth by the King
"and his Council in manner following:

"*The sentence of excommunication ought not to be by*
"*any Ministers of Christ's Church* [pronounced] *against*
"*any creature, except it be for deadly sin, prohibited by*

" *God's law and Scriptures: nor yet then, except the* " *party stands in contumacy, or be heady,* &c. And again; " *It is the office of al maner of Bishops, and a grant also* " *indifferently made to them by God, that they should,* " *first, friendly admonish, and secretly reprove; secondly,* " *after record, charitably to reform, if they can, al maner* " *of offenders of God's laws within their dioceses: not* " *using any compulsaries, except the parties persist obsti-* " *nate, and in contumacy. Which happening, then it is* " *lawful for them to use censures and excommunications.*

" That this manner of way ought every Bishop to use. 394
" That this continued until Queen Mary's time; who re-
" vived that supposed statute of the 2 Henry IV. again.
" Which nevertheless was in the first year of her Majesty's
" reign repealed and overthrown again. And so standeth
" (said he) both the canon law and the law of the land at
" this day.

" That, were it requisite to prove their contrary asser-
" tion by some fundamental allegations or texts of law,
" none other had been produced, but the matter faced out
" by the vain alleging of the opinion of Julius Clarius Al-
" phonsus, and other Popish superstitious writers; who
" in their practices concerning inquisitions, noted the cus-
" toms of the Courts of Rome and Spain, to be otherwise
" none, than the words of the Pope's former written ca-
" nons purported, by reason of some other later and secret
" constitution or bull, never yet published or heard of in
" England. And that whereas according to the law we
" were to be governed but only by such canonical consti-
" tutions as were before written and known unto the
" realm, not to be contrary to the word of God, or the
" laws and customs of this land; he asked, whence this
" boldness came in any man to draw us now to be go-
" verned by the opinion of a Spaniard, or any such like
" tyrannical, Popish Inquisitor: and what such an auda-
" cious consequence deserved in the due construction of
" the laws of England, he left it to the judgment of the
" wise and learned.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592. Commission ecclesiastical.

"That men were slandered, to impugn her Majesty's "supreme authority, and the commission ecclesiastical; "when as there was no such cause. But the commission "was not to be extended at their pleasure; but to be "taken in such sort, and so far forth, as the commission "itself prescribed. That in the five first commissions ec- "clesiastical, there was no mention or warrant for them "to proceed *ex officio* at all. And that themselves con- "fessed, that Bishop Grindal proceeded by the verdict of "twelve men, according to the express words of the said "commission. That in this last commission there had "been an alteration, and a new clause inserted, to proceed "by the oath of the party. But that he could not be per- "suaded, that however that happened, her Majesty's in- "tention ever was to make any such innovation beside "law; and to have her subjects more burdened, than in "her father's, her brother's, and her own time, they for- "merly were.

"God be thanked, said he, there was no danger for the "witnesses: all or most of the matters appointed to be "redressed by the commission were not of the nature of "heresies. And therefore there was no ground to proceed "in such ordinary matters as they dealt in, only by inqui- "sition; but according to the commission. Whereas ac- "cording to law, *in dubio præsumitur potius pro commis- "sione quam pro inquisitione;* that is, that they should "rather proceed according to the ordinary course of law, "by accusation or presentment, than by an extraordinary "course of an inquisition, established by the Pope only for "heresy, and now overthrown by the law of the land.

"That they would fain make fools believe, that they do "it for the ease and benefit of the offenders; because in "an inquisition, *levior est pœna, quàm in accusatione.* "It ought indeed, added he, so to be, according to law. "But, he demanded, was the practice so, when for trifles "and toys, for the refusal of the lawless oath, and sub- "scription, men have been imprisoned and deprived of "their livings? Which Bracton termed to be of the na-

" ture of a *maxima capitis diminutio:* and which all laws " had plainly determined to be used for great and enor- " mous crimes: not left to the fancy of the Judge, but ex- " pressly set down in the body of the law. And what " could a sentence and judgment upon an accusation do " more? That these encroachments were against Magna " Charta, and sundry other statutes of the realm. Against " the writ twice mentioned in the Register, and cited by " Fitz-Herbert. Which books contained the ancient and " greatest part of the common law of England. That they " were against the custom of the land, for any to be drawn " or forced to accuse himself. That the statute of 13th 395
" did require a subscription to the articles of faith *onely.* Subscription to the articles *onely.*
" And that he had heard it credibly reported, that it ap- " peared by the records, that the limitation was thought " meet to be inserted [viz. *onely*] by the Lords in the " Higher House, when as the bill had passed the Lower " House in more general terms.

" That the councils and canons did not give any such " authority to any Bishop, to make articles or to exact " subscriptions at his pleasure. Why then should it be " brought in, to disquiet the Church, now?

" Besides their profane use of excommunication and Excommunication, absolution, used profanely. " absolution, what were they but relics of the encroach- " ments of that arch-traitor, Thomas Becket, against the " crown and dignity of the King; as was recognized *per* " *omnes Episcopos et magnates regni*, in the constitution " of Clarendon: as appeared in the book of the Life of the " said Becket, and sundry other histories and monuments " of those times, cap. 5 and 6. *Excommunicati non de-* " *bent dare vadium ad remanens, nec præstare juramen-* " *tum; sed tantum vadium et plegium standi judicio ec-* " *clesiæ; ut absolvantur: clerici non debent accusari, nisi* " *per certos et legales accusatores et testes, in præsentia* " *episcopi. Ita quod Archidiaconus non perdat jus suum,* " *nec quicquam quod inde habere debeat. Et si tales fu-* " *erint qui culpantur, quos nec velit, nec audeat aliquis* " *eos accusare, Vicecomes requisitus ab Episcopo, faciat*

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

"*jurare* 12 *legales homines de vicineto, seu de villa coram* "*Episcopo: quod inde veritatem secundum conscientiam* "*suam manifestabunt.* So as at that time there was no "such tendering of any such oath by the ecclesiastical "Judge; whatsoever more boldly than truly had been al- "leged by some of their Doctors, for the antiquity of that "lawless manner of proceeding.

"That Sir Thomas Moore, handling the question more "largely than any of them had done, confessed plainly, "that it was brought into the Church eleven or twelve "hundred years after Christ.

"That there was no tittle in all the holy Scripture to "countenance such a manner of proceeding; unless it "were the example of that wicked King Ahab, to adjure "men to bewray their knowledge of Elias, the Prophet of "the Lord: and of the High Priest, first to entangle and "ensnare Christ by questions, then to condemn him by "his own oath, when other lawful proofs and witnesses "wanted.

"That nevertheless it was not denied, but the magis- "trate might inquire of offences, when any great crime "had been committed. But without proof of any fact or "fame precedent, to rake up men's consciences by oaths "and questions, from fact to fact, from time to time, by "many years; as the manner of their accustomed objec- "tions *ex officio* were, could neither be maintained by any "Scripture or ancient Father at all.

Chancery and Star-chamber oaths.

"That they abused men by giving forth, that the like "was done in the courts of Chancery and Star-chamber: "when as it was notoriously known, that the oath of the "party was never demanded, but after declaration of a "fact, wherewith the party was first charged, either by "bill or otherwise.

Lindwood's opinion.

"Lindwood, who in the time of King Henry VI. com- "piled the Provincial Constitutions, was of opinion, that "the ecclesiastical citations ought to be in the nature of "a writ at the common law: which contained the matter "of a complaint: so as the party might know, either to

" yield satisfaction, or to come prepared for an answer. " Which in this case they could not do. And that by the " best learned of all the Civilians it was holden for a com- " mon and sound opinion, that the citation ought to con- " tain the cause wherefore the party was sent for. Where- " of, he said, the book of Monuments had sundry prece- " dents in case of heresy: so as he might bring his proof " with him, and answer without delay. For if the citation " did not contain the cause, then was the Judge bound to " make him acquainted with it at his coming; and to give " him time of deliberation for his answer.

" That these allegations, which might be much more " amplified, were not gathered out of the registers or " tables of books, as was impudently objected; but in " such sort, as the same might be justly defended accord- " ing to the true meaning of the authors. That such su- " perficial knowledge might be left to the new Doctor, 396 " that had published so many books of late, who sometime " had been a Preacher and Minister; then a criminal and " bloody Judge; and now an irregular and non-resident " railer against most of the reformed Churches in Chris- " tendom. And then, he said, he wished to God her Ma- " jesty understood all their doings, and how by their " wealth and new plot of proceeding, most of the troubles " had arisen in this Church and State, which they laid " upon others.

The new Doctor.

" Yet, he added, he would not excuse nor allow all his " own doings: but nevertheless was of opinion, that if " they of the Clergy had done so much as by law they " ought to have done, there would have been either no " cause of such dissensions; or if there had been, the " same would easily have been suppressed. But when " nothing was reformed according to law, but a further " co-acting manner of proceeding introduced against law, " this had been, from the time of Thomas Becket, ac- " counted the principal cause of the divisions and par- " tialities between the spiritualty and temporalty in this " realm.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

"But that when both parties should be reduced to do "no more than by law they might, then would there be "some good hopes of better agreement. Which he be- "seeched the Lord once to grant. In the mean time it "was, he said, an easy thing to fight with a man whose "hands were bound: and by print and speech to incense "what they listed, when others had not the like liberty. "By such means no peace was sought, but hatred and "strife increased and continued still; not only among

Foreign Churches.

"ourselves, but also against our neighbours, the Churches "of France, Geneva, the Low Countries, and Scotland: "contrary to the charitable and grave censure of the "Church, and the whole state of this realm. Which, al- "beit it did establish a form of government for itself, yet "christianly and charitably had declared, that they did "not prejudge nor condemn any other Church. That one

Supplication to the Devil.

"of these subjects, in his book entitled, *A Supplication to* "*the Devil*, so reviled the whole nation of Denmark, as "every one, who so bore any due respect to her Majesty "and her friends, might be sorry and ashamed to see it. "The realm had otherwise enemies enough, without mak- "ing any more by such contumelious pamphlets. Where- "fore such invectives could not but serve the enemy's "turn, whatsoever was pretended otherwise.

"And that although he had of late years very little "dealt with any foreign causes; yet if this course came

Rome.

"not from Rome, he had heard it reported, that it was "well liked of in Rome by the Pope and his adherents, "and all the English Jesuits, Seminaries, and traitors "abroad. Who by such divisions thought the sooner to "bring to pass their intended purposes. Which he trusted "the Lord would never permit. But that in the mean "time, the cause being so dangerous, he prayed to God, "that we be not abused by such partial and sinister tales "and pretences: and that by too much credulity and se- "curity the remedy were not too long delayed. That for "her Majesty's safety, and continuation of her most happy "state, by piety and justice, he had wished, that all dis-

" orders were reformed according to the law standing; CHAP. IX.
" and so desired it still. Otherwise, that he never made
" a new plot of ecclesiastical government, nor consented Anno 1592.
" to any; nor so much as wished any. And so much he
" had, he said, more than once declared to the Lord Arch- No new plotters of ecclesiastical government.
" bishop's Grace of Canterbury: however he was now
" called in question without cause; and that it had pleased
" his adversaries to aggravate her Majesty's displeasure
" against him at this time. And so he beseeched his
" Lordship" [to whom he wrote this long letter] " that her
" Majesty might be truly informed. For that his enemies
" neither were, nor never should be, able to prove the con-
" trary." This letter was dated from London, the 17th of March, 1592. And subscribed, *Your Lordship's humbly at commandment, Robert Beale.*

Though this long plea and argument of Beale hath somewhat interrupted our history, yet it will prove of service, to acquaint us with the most plausible reasons, managed by those of the best learning, on that side: and to shew us some books and writers now appearing in this 397
controversy about the Bishops, and their method of proceeding in their courts, and in the high commission against delinquents: whereof our Archbishop was the chief director.

The Convocation began at St. Paul's, February 20. Dr. A Convocation. Dr. Andrews preaches. MSS. Michael Hicks, Esq.
Andrews, the Archbishop's Chaplain, preached there before them a sermon in Latin. His text was in Acts xx. 28. *Attendite vobis et universæ gregi*, &c. Beginning after this manner: " Hic canon omnes in se canones com-
" plectitur. Partes tres. Prima, Operativum verbum, *At-*
" *tendite.* Secunda, Quàm late pateat hæc cura. Tertia,
" Quousque se debeat intendere." Then proceeding to his prayer; *Precemur, ne hæc synodus larva sit synodi; in qua ubi de re pecuniaria transactum est, actum est. Tum ite, discedite. Sed ut ovibus attendatur; et non tantum tondeantur.* Some notable sentences of his sermon, collected by some one of his auditors, as I have met with the paper containing them, were such as these:

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

" Mutarunt multi theologiam in battologiam, et eccle-
" siam ipsam in tonstrinam.

" Omnem doctrinam reconditiorem proscribunt in con-
" cionibus; [scil. de divinis decretis, prædestinatione, &c.]
" Quare tendit vobis manus supplex doctrina, ut huic malo
" succurratis.

" In Ascalone triumphum agunt de peccatis Episcopo-
" rum. Intelligentibus loquor.

" Hodie multi Episcopi malunt esse morosi, quàm benè
" morati.

" Nisi vos gregi [attendatis] fiet, ut vobis grex attendat.
" Id quod novissimis his annis fieri cœptum est.

" Vos populus curat, scilicet. [Ironice dictum, de qui-
" busdam in Parliamento.]

" Simon, dormis? Et Judas non dormit. Quid id cre-
" deret? [Clerus scil. nimium securus, præsertim Epi-
" scopi.]

" Non casu aliquo, sed a Spiritu Sancto positi estis Epi-
" scopi. Quod estis, este. Grex vester, et si non aureum
" vellus, tamen animas habeat aureas.

" Spiritus Sanctus est communis omnium nostrûm Me-
" tropolitanus.

" Siquis per scalam ambitionis, vel per impluvium largi-
" tionis in ovile intraverit, non miror, si nec ille gregi, nec
" grex huic attendat.

" Majorem ferè rationem habemus nummorum, quàm
" morum.

" An in hac synodo, tanquam sacerdos ille, [qui viso
" illo, qui incidit in latrones, præterivit. Luc. x.] venturi
" estis ad ecclesiam sauciam: et visuri et relicturi in statu
" quo?

" Non dico jam, ut attendatis ab hæreticis et schisma-
" ticis, sed ab atheis istis bestiis Ephesinis: in quos si
" nihil possit disciplina nostra ecclesiastica, nec video,
" quid possit.

" Attendite a transfugis etiam illis Jesuitis. Etiam ab
" illis, quorum ingenia tam turbulenta sunt et inquieta, ut
" semper velint leges Ecclesiæ dare, nunquam accipere.

CHAP. IX.

Anno 1592.

" Nisi attentionem disciplinæ vestræ, i. medicinam me-
" dicinæ apponatis, brevi pro Sione Babelem habituri
" sumus.

" Disciplina nostra jam solas crumenas pulsat; ut con-
" sulatur potius ovium attonsioni, quàm attentioni, et fisco
" quàm Christo.

" Prostituimus illud horrendum et tremendum Dei ful-
" men, [scil. excommunicationem.] Ejaculamur in rebus
" leviculis et ridiculis. Adeo ut jam illud cœperit vulgus
" hominum irridere atque subsannare; [solennem sc. illam
" Ecclesiæ censuram."] Such as will may read the whole paper of this sum of the reverend and learned Divine's sermon, in the Appendix. As was the whole *Clerum* afterwards published among his *Opuscula Posthuma*, by the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Ely, in the year 1629. [No. XIV.]

What was done there.

Session the 7th, the Bishops agreed upon two subsidies to be granted to her Majesty. And conferring with the Lower House, they consented for four shillings in the pound, at two shillings payable yearly. The first payment to be the 19th of February, 1693. Session the 19th, April the 11th, came a writ from the Queen to dissolve them. In the Extract of Convocations, there are two papers belonging to this Convocation; one of questions and answers about marriage, within degrees of affinity: the other, containing orders, agreed on by the Bishops, for the better executing the laws, and avoiding offences. Which matters no doubt were now transacted, and the drawing up hastened, for the pacifying of the clamorous party in the Parliament against the Bishops and Clergy.

398

Extract of Convocat.

The address of the Deans and Prebendaries of the new foundations at this Convocation; MSS. Ecclesiast.

In this Convocation the Deans and divers of the Prebendaries of the late erected churches, being now met together, resolved to move for an act of Parliament for the confirmation of them; to prevent for the future the great vexations they had met with from such as pretended that much of their revenues were concealed lands, and so belonging to the Crown. The Archbishop had often laboured to stop these mischiefs to the Church and learning: and had so prevailed with the Lord Treasurer to

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

espouse this cause, that upon their petition he had lately effectually shewn the Queen (the Archbishop also being present) the great inconveniences of these commissions granted by her, to the spoiling of those religious foundations of hers, and her father and brother. And upon this encouragement, both from the Archbishop and the said Lord, they wrote their letter, dated in March, from the Convocation-house to him, to this tenor; "Their duties in "most humblewise remembered: that whereas divers of "the cathedral and collegiate churches, erected by her "Majesty, her father, and brother, and the possessions "thereof, had been procured as *concealments*, and that for "very trifles, to the prejudice, no doubt, of their princely "entendments, and to the disquieting of such as had been "and were there placed; and to the utter wasting and "spending the revenues thereof, appointed for many ho-"nourable and good uses: forasmuch as they understood "by their very good Lord, the Archbishop of Canterbu-"ry's Grace, his honourable and loving affection to such "foundations, testified in his presence even to her Ma-"jesty, and likewise perceived by such of themselves, as "from them had been sent to his Lordship, his Honour's "good acceptation of their humble petition, and dislike of "such practices: they had thought it their bounden du-"ties to yield unto his Lordship most humble thanks, and "withal to beseech and desire the same, that by his ho-"nourable mediation and countenance, a remedy might at "this Parliament (by confirmation of the said grants) be "obtained. That it would redound to the glory of Al-"mighty God, the honour of her Majesty, the special re-"commendation of his Lordship, the increase of learning "in the Church and Universities, and breed in those trou-"blesome days a happy home-peace to our Churches, and "to them, poor Churchmen. And thus making bold to "lay themselves and their whole cause in his honourable "and accustomed regard and favour; and beseeching the "Almighty long to bless and preserve his Lordship, and "all his, they humbly took their leaves. From their Con-

Against concealments.

" vocation house the 16th of March, 1592. Subscribing, " His Lordship's most bounden, the Deans and Preben- " daries of the late erected churches. Signed, W. James, " Gabriel Goodman, Humphrey Tyndal, Martin Heton, " Thomas Nevyle, Will. Redman, Philip Bisse, Tho. White, " Hadrianus Saravia, John Freake, Jo. Pratt, P. Williams, " Will. Wilson, Thomas Monforde."

Anno 1592.

The Archbishop now took care of his hospitals, as he had done before of them. And sent forth a commission, dated in August, to several persons, to visit the houses of Saltwood and Hith. It was directed to Richard Rogers, Suffragan of Dover; William Redman, Archdeacon of Canterbury; William Lewis, LL. D. Keeper and Commissary of the Prerogative Court, Canterbury; John Boise, Esq.; Stephen Lakes, LL. D.; Ralph Heyman, Esq.; Walsal and Tailbois, S. T. PP.; and Charles Fotherby, S. T. B. to visit the parochial churches of Saltwood and Hith; and all and singular ecclesiastical places within the said parishes; and the Priors, Brethren, and Sisters of the house or hospital of St. Bartholomew in Saltwood, and St. John's in Hith. And gave the said Commissioners these interrogatories to inquire of. " What lands, tenements, or other " hereditaments, and what woods, what beds, bedding, or " other moveables, have in time past, or now belong unto " the houses and fraternities, &c. and by whose default " alienated away, or embecilled? *Item*, Who have, by any " ordinance or custom, the letting and setting of their " lands and woods? To whom they be let? And for " what commodity unto the poor? And for what term yet " to come? *Item*, In what state their houses, woods, and " bedding, and other moveable things be? And to whom " doth belong the repairing and reviewing of them? *Item*, " How many poor men and poor women have been either " accustomed of ancient time to be relieved in, by, and " from the said hospital; or by any institutes or ordinance " ought to be relieved? *Item*, Whether the number ac- " customed, or provided by the ordinances, are now re- " lieved and maintained in the said hospitals, and any of

Visits hospitals. Regist. Whitg.

Interrogatories to be inquired of. Reg. Whitg. fol. 196.

399

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

" them? And what was the maintenance of old; and what " is now? *Item*, Have there been of late any of the bed- " ding or implements of the said hospitals alienated, sold, " pledged, or lent; and by whom?" With several other interrogatories of that nature.

Visits All Souls college, Oxon. Regist. Whitg.

The Archbishop did this year also visit All Souls college, Oxon, styling himself, in his letters to the college, *Visitator, Patronus, et Ordinarius*. The cause of this visitation was, partly, a disagreement in the election of their officers, and that several things were out of order in the house. As chiefly, that the Fellows and Scholars neglected to dine in the common hall; not eating their meals publicly together at dinner and supper. " Further, the Arch- " bishop was informed, that, being unmindful of their duty " in that behalf by a dangerous example, and incredible " ingratitude (as the instrument ran) towards their Founder " of happy memory, whose will and disposition they con- " demned, (to the no small damage of their studies and " manners, and the destruction of scholastical discipline, " and the diminishing of mutual benevolence, and the in- " crease of various factions,) they prepared in their own " chambers splendid and sumptuous feasts; rather than " frugal repasts, beseeming and convenient to students of " learning. And they retained a great number of needless " boys and servants in the college." But for the rest I refer the readers to the Appendix, both for the Archbishop's letter, and for the instrument containing the ordinances made by the Most Reverend, for the explanation of the statutes of the said college *of all faithful souls departed*, in the University of Oxon. Dated Jan. the 12th, 1592.

N°. XV, XVI.

At the same time the Archbishop nominated the officers of the same college, the election not being agreed upon among themselves; and the Warden naming them to the Archbishop at Lambeth; the nomination of them by right devolving to him, by the statutes and injunctions of the said college; and by Mr. Robert Hovenden the said Warden signified *viva voce*, in his manor of Lambeth, the said 12th of January. The said instrument whereof I have sub-

joined to the Appendix, as before. He nominated again, in the year 1596, officers for this college of All Souls, as appeared by the register. CHAP. IX. Anno 1592.

John Sterne, S. Th. B. was consecrated Bishop Suffragan of Colchester, November 12, 1592, in the church of Fulham, by virtue of the Queen's letters to the Archbishop; John Bishop of London, John Bishop of Rochester, and Richard Bishop of Bristol, assisting: the accustomed ceremonies being used; and oath by him taken of renouncing all foreign Prelates, &c. and acknowledging the Queen's authority in all ecclesiastical as well as temporal matters; according to a form of a statute of Parliament. And he was vested by the Archbishop with episcopal robes. One of the last Suffragans, I think, consecrated among us. A Suffragan of Colchester consecrated.

The Bishop of Bristol, Dr. Fletcher, was translated to Worcester, and confirmed February the 10th. Bishop of Worcester confirmed.

The confirmation of the election of John Still, S. T. P. to be Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of St. Andrew, Wells, and of the see episcopal of Bath and Wells, was performed on Saturday the same day, *viz.* February the 10th. And his consecration was on the Sunday following, in the chapel of Lambeth, by the Archbishop; John Bishop of London, John Bishop of Rochester, Richard Bishop of Wigorn, assisting. Bishop of Bath and Wells consecrated.

Vacations of dioceses mentioned this year in the register are as follow. A visitation, instituted June 24, in the diocese of Ely. Various institutions by the Archbishop to the livings vacant in that diocese, mentioned: and likewise in the diocese of St. David's, in the time of the suspension of Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop thereof, May the 8th, from his ecclesiastical function, and the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction: and in the vacation at his death, from the 7th of September, 1593. And in the vacation of the see of Oxon, by the death of John Underhill, from the 1st day of May, 1592. The commission to exercise episcopal jurisdiction there was granted to John Blincoe, LL. D. 400 Vacations of Ely, St. David's, and Oxon. Regist. Whitg. fol. 165. vol. ii.

The last thing I shall mention under this year is the book of the *Laws of Ecclesiastical Polity*, written by Mr. Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity

BOOK IV.

Hooker, lately preferred to the mastership of the Temple, strongly opposed by Travers, the Lecturer there: wherein our Archbishop was concerned, as we related before. It was a just discourse of the ecclesiastical state of this Church, built upon great reason and judgment; managed with admirable clearness and conviction, and with a strain of great learning and modesty withal accompanying it. Designed for a vindication of the Church of England, as it stood reformed at first, and established by law, against those that so much and so intemperately cried out for another platform of government. Which that most judicious Divine did happily refute. This book (though it came not forth till the year 1594) was sent by the author, in a written copy rather than in print, to the Lord Treasurer, about the end of this year, for his judgment and approbation. And, together with his book, he wrote a letter to the same Lord, dated March 13, importing, "that it was affection "that caused things sometimes to be done, which might "rather be forborne, if men were wholly guided by judg-"ment. And applying this to himself, in presuming to "offer his poor and slender labours, (as he modestly called "them,) declared, how it proceeded from his dutiful affec-"tion; willing to manifest itself to him; and glad to take "the present occasion, for want of something else more "worthy his acceptation. Especially, since he was per-"suaded, that his faultiness had been greater, if these "writings concerning the nobler part of those laws under "which we lived, should not have craved with the first, his "Lordship's approbation. Whose painful care to uphold "all laws, and especially the ecclesiastical, had so long and "so apparently shewed itself. And so submitted his writ-"ing to his Lordship's most wise judgment." The whole letter of this very reverend man will not, I am sure, be unacceptable to many to peruse, for his sake and name: and therefore I have preserved it among the records.

Anno 1592. finished this year.

Presents the copy to the Lord Treasurer.

N°. XVII.

The same cause was here managed by Mr. Hooker in writing, which the Archbishop so painfully and vigorously in his place promoted by his actions. That for this (as he

The reasons moving Hooker to write.

wrote in his preface) posterity might know, they had not loosely, though silently, permitted things to pass away, as in a dream. And that there should be, for men's information, extant thus much concerning the present state of the Church of God established among us, and their careful endeavours who would have upheld the same. And another reason he hinted elsewhere, "That he was not able to express how much it grieved him, that things of principal excellency should be so bitten at, by men whom God had endued both with graces of wit and learning for better purposes." Meaning those that found fault with the Litany, and other services and offices of this Church.

Anno 1592.

Eccles. Pol. book v. sect. 41.

This year a private domestic accident gave occasion for a public regard to be taken of it; reaching at length to the Queen's ears. Some injury it was offered to a lady by her husband; and so great, that she espoused her quarrel, and resolved to have justice and right done her. She was a person of quality by birth, being daughter to the Lord Cobham, one of the Queen's Privy Council, and wife to the Lord Sandes: who had thrown some great indignity upon her honour. In this matter the Archbishop came to be concerned. To whom her Majesty spake herself; requiring him to bring it into his court. And he himself, very sensible of the wrong the lady sustained, shewed himself ready to interpose, either as a reconciler or a judge. And the said Lord Cobham, a very honourable Peer, greatly resenting his daughter's usage, the Archbishop sent him a letter to the effect above said, dated the 3d of November from Croydon, *viz.*

The Queen speaks to the Archbishop about a wrong done to the Lady Sandes by her husband.

401

"That it pleased her Majesty two days before, after "many very gracious speeches of his Lordship and of his "good Lady now with God, to ask him of the state of the "Lady Sandes, his daughter. Whereunto he [the Archbishop] answered as the truth was, to his understanding. "And that her Highness commanded him to signify to his "Lordship, that she would not suffer his daughter (of "whom she was so well persuaded) to take any wrong, or "to suffer such an indignity: and therefore would have

The Archbishop's letter to the Lord Cobham thereupon. MSS. Ra. Thoresby, Arm.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1592.

" the matter (if otherwise reconciliation could not be had)
" called into question, as to his Lordship [the Lord Cob-
" ham] should seem best. Which most gracious disposi-
" tion of her Majesty, added the Archbishop, was conso-
" nant to justice, and meet to be followed. For otherwise,
" the said Lady Sandes should be greatly prejudiced, both
" in her estate and credit. That for his own part, he would
" be ready, either by the way of reconciliation or of justice,
" (as to his Lordship should be thought most fit,) to do
" that which an honest man ought to do, either in friend-
" ship or justice. And so, with his very hearty commend-
" ations, committed his Lordship to the tuition of Almighty
" God."

CHAP. X.

Recusants in the Archbishop's diocese. Directions from the Privy Council for making inquiry after them. Sends to the Bishops for contribution for Priests converted. Survey of the pretended Discipline, *set forth by Dr. Bancroft. The Archbishop's excellent letter to Beza; expostulating with him about his writings against this Church. Dr. Saravia and Dr. Sutcliff accused by Beza. Vindicated by the Archbishop. Beza's sharp words of Sutcliff considered by Saravia, and reproved. Beza's letter; to which the Archbishop gave answer.*

Anno 1593.

THE State continued still to have a careful eye upon the Papists, both priests and laymen. And even the Archbishop's diocese was not without them: for such information was brought, in the month of August, to the Lords of the Council, that the wives and servants of several persons in his diocese were recusants, and harboured such, contrary to the late act of Parliament. Which occasioned the Lords (especially observing how the recusants generally were grown now more obstinate than before) to write their letters to the Archbishop himself, and to the Dean, the Ordi-

The Lords write to the Archbishop about recusants in his diocese; wives and servants.

nary and Official of his diocese, to make diligent search for them: with particular directions how to proceed, for the better discovery and reducing of them. Their letter ran in this tenor: "That whereas it was credibly informed, that "there were sundry men's wives, dwelling in the diocese "of Canterbury, that refused to come to the Church; and "that sundry persons did entertain, keep, and relieve ser- "vants and others that were recusants, contrary to the "statute made the last Parliament: that sithence which "time it was likewise noted unto them, that many had "shewed themselves rather more obstinate in divers parts "of this realm, in matters of religion, than any ways more "tractable or conformable: that forasmuch as this matter "did very much import the true service of God, and the "estate of her Majesty and her realms: and therefore "ought, with the greater care and diligence, to be looked "into:

CHAP. X.

Anno 1593.

Their letter. Regist. Whitg. fol. 113.

"That therefore they had thought it expedient to send "his Lordship, in a schedule herein inclosed, certain notes "and directions, for the more exact and orderly proceed- 402 "ing herein; subscribed by them and the Clerk of the "Council. And that they did very earnestly require his "Lordship, the Dean, Ordinary, and Official, with all con- "venient expedition, to cause diligent inquiry to be made "of all wives, servants, and other recusants, which were "in his Lordship's diocese and jurisdiction, according to "the orders and directions prescribed in the said schedule: "and so nôt doubting but his Lordship would have that "regard to the due execution thereof as appertained, and "as her Majesty and themselves did expect, they bade his "Lordship, &c. very heartily farewell. From the Court at "Windsor Castle, the 26th of August, 1593. Subscribing,

"Your Lordship's, &c. very loving friends,

"Jo. Puckring, C. S. C. Howard, J. Wolley,
"W. Burghley, T. Buckhurst, J. Fortescue."
"Essex,

BOOK IV. Anno 1593.

The notes and directions to be observed by the Lord Bishop, Dean, Ordinary, and officers of that diocese of Canterbury, in their inquiry after wives and servants, recusants, &c. were as follow:

The Schedule.

The schedule sent for directions of inquiry.

"They shall first cause diligent inquisition to be made "in every parish, what wives be recusants: and shall cer- "tify the names and dwellingplaces of the husband and "wife; and the condition and state of the husband, *viz.* "Knights, Esquires, Gentlemen, &c. They shall cause also "inquiry to be made, who keep or relieve any servants, or "others, that be recusants, within their families, or under "their commandment, contrary to the statute this 35th of "her Majesty's reign. And for the better knowledge there- "of, they shall take strict order, that Curates, churchwar- "dens, or sidemen of every parish, do make request to "every householder, man or woman, in her Majesty's name, "keeping any number of serving men or women, above the "number of ten, to notify the names of all the said ser- "vants. And all the names, so delivered and put in writ- "ing, the said Curate, churchwarden, or sideman, shall ex- "pressly require every the said servant to resort to the "Church, according to the law. And of the time of this "request to keep a note in writing. Likewise, after a "month next after such request, the Curate or churchwar- "dens shall give notice to every one that keepeth or re- "lieveth any such servant, or other recusant, and hath not "come to any parish church, or to some usual place of "common prayer, to hear divine service; but hath forborne "the same by the space of a month before such notice "given, without any reasonable cause. And the order, "which the said Curate shall use in his admonition, here- "after followeth: I, A. B. Curate of the Parish of C. do "give notice unto J. S. that your servant R. N. doth ob- "stinately refuse to come to any church, chapel, or usual "place of common prayer, to hear divine service; and hath

" forborne the same by the space of a month together last " past, contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm.

" Jo. Puckring, C. S. T. Buckhurst, J. Wolley, " W. Burghley, Rob. Cecill, A. Achley." " Essex,

Anno 1593.

These notes and directions were thus drawn up and enjoined, partly for the better discovery of Seminary Priests and Jesuits, that now, and before, flocked into the realm, to plot treason, and pervert the Queen's subjects; and took harbour in houses, and were entertained under the appearance of servants of divers qualities; and in Kent, the Archbishop's diocese, bordering upon the sea, after their landing at some ports there, as well as in the other dioceses.

Occasioned by a letter of the Attorney General to the Lord Treasurer, MSS. Burghl.

For this order from the Council was occasioned by an information and advice, given in the beginning of the said month of August, from the Attorney General, Sir Thomas Egerton, to the Lord Treasurer, being now in Cheshire, at his house in Doddleston. Whence he writ to that Lord to this tenor; "That since his last coming into that country, " he had had some conference with the Bishop of Chester, " touching the Popish recusants in that diocese; and that " he found, as well by his declaration as by certain reports " otherwise, that few or none had made any shew of con- " formity since the last Parliament; but had rather in- 403 " creased both in stubbornness and number. And he fear- " ed it were little better in other parts of the realm. That " in regard thereof, he presumed, under his Lordship's re- " formation, to remember to his good Lordship, that it " were very requisite to have some directions given, for the " doing of those things which were first to be observed, " before any proceedings could be upon the late statutes " against them. As namely, in these two special cases:

" First, for wives that were recusants: to have diligent " inquiry made in every diocese and county, who, and how " many such there were: their names, and the names, " dwellingplaces, degrees, and qualities of the husbands, " *viz.* a Knight, Esquire, Gentleman, &c. That this being

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

" done and certified into the Exchequer, or to the Lords " of the Privy Council, information might be exhibited the " next term against the offenders. And that for this pur- " pose he had already framed a form of an information, by " the advice of the Lords the Judges.

" Secondly, to have like inquiry to be made for such as " kept or relieved servants, or others, that were recusants; " and the names and qualities of those that were so re- " lieved. And order to be given, that request be made to " such servants or persons so relieved, to come to Church. " And thereupon notice to be given to the masters and " others the relievers of them. Without which request " and notice so first made, the late law extended not unto " them.

" And that, if his Lordship should think meet, letters to " be written to the Lords of the Council, either to the Or- " dinaries or to the late Commissioners, for requiring and " examining of recusants; or to some Justices of Peace, " and other persons well affected; to cause and see these " things to be done, and certified accordingly." He added, " that of these things he had partly acquainted the Lord " Keeper, and set down a form in writing, which he sent " to him, how and by whom the request and notice was to " be made, according to the statute. And that it were pity " laws so well meant should be fruitless; but either to " work in the delinquents that conformity which was ex- " pected, or that profit to her Majesty that was due. And " so ended, beseeching his Lordship to pardon his boldness " herein; and that it would please him to continue his " most honourable favour and goodness towards him. " Dated Aug. 2, 1593. Subscribing, Most humbly at his " Lordship's commandment, Thomas Egerton."

And by these methods and inquiries several of these Popish Priests, secretly abiding here in the realm in great numbers, being discovered, were not spared; but the laws were executed impartially upon them. Which justice had effect upon divers of the rest, to bring them over from their seditious and erroneous principles and practices.

As, some years past, were Anthony Tyrrel and William Tedder, Priests: who both recanted at Paul's Cross, in the month of December, 1588; and many more afterwards. Contributions for the maintenance of these converted Priests were expected from the Bishops, and the abler sort of the Clergy. And therefore did the Archbishop this year, in December, write his letters to them for this end and purpose, very earnestly and compassionately; their executions being stopped, and their pardons obtained. And by this time there were not a few of these Priests that had thus been convinced, by conference with learned men, and other means, and gone off from Popery; insomuch, that the maintenance of them became a burden to the Archbishop, and some few more well disposed. Which caused him to urge the rest of his brethren, the Bishops, to move their Clergy, that were in better circumstances, to assist in this good work; so charitable, so necessary to keep these men from revolting or starving; and such a matter of shame to this Church, if they should be neglected, especially this expense being only for a little time, till they should be put into places proper for them; and so provided for. All this was signified by the good Archbishop in their behalf; as appears by his Christian letter, which was as followeth:

Anno 1593. Stow's Annal.

" *Sal. in Christo,* 404

" Among such Priests as come over from beyond the " seas, to pervert her Majesty's subjects, both in religion " and obedience, it pleaseth God, by conference and other " good means, to convert some to the truth. To whom also " it pleaseth her Majesty, of her gracious goodness, to grant " pardon. And forasmuch as divers of them, being pardoned, are altogether destitute of maintenance, and driven " to great extremity through the same, a great temptation " to them to revolt, and a discouragement to others to fol- " low their example of conversion, and a slander to this " State: I am moved with Christian pity and compassion " to pray your Lordship, to move the better and wealthier " sort of the Clergy within your diocese to yield some con-

The Archbishop's letter to the Bishops for contribution for converted Priests.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

" tribution toward their relief, until they may be otherwise " provided for (as some of them are). And the same con- " tributions to send unto me, with as convenient expedition " as you may.

" Our adversaries plentifully reward and maintain such " as fly from us to them. And these Priests, while they re- " mained Papists, lacked nothing. A great want of charity, " and shame it were for us, after their conversion, to suffer " them to beg, or else to die, or to revolt for lack. If it " were not for one or two, some of them had been in that " case, or now. Who being no longer able to endure that " charge, the poor souls shall be driven to the beforenamed " extremities, without your charitable relief. The burden " will be very easy, divided among so many, which other- " wise is importable to such as do now sustain it. And " therefore I heartily pray you to have good consideration " hereof; and to deal in this case as you would be dealt " withal in the like. And so with my very hearty commen- " dations, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God. " From Lambeth, the 9th of December, 1593.

" Your loving Brother in Christ."

Survey of the Discipline, set forth by Dr. Bancroft.

This year came forth a remarkable book, written by Dr. Bancroft, the Archbishop's Chaplain; for laying open the Puritan principles, and confuting, by argument and fact, their invented new discipline; entitled, *A Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline: containing the beginnings, success, parts, proceedings, authority, and doctrine of it: with some of the material and manifest repugnancies, varieties, and uncertainties in that behalf. Faithfully gathered, by way of historical narration, out of the books and writings of principal favourers of that platform.* The book hath no dedicatory epistle to the Archbishop, nor to any other but the reader; though it might have seemed proper to have had his name prefixed, who, no doubt, had employed and assisted the said author about the work: but he thought convenient to have his name spared. In the epistle to the reader, " he applieth himself to such, both

" of the clergy and laity, who favoured this pretended dis-
" cipline with singleness of heart, in good earnest, (he was
" persuaded,) as supposing it to be the Lord's own work-
" manship and holy institution. But he reminded them,
" that they knowing that many dishes were washed clean
" on the outside, and yet were foul within .... and that
" men might be otherwise deceived with shows and proba-
" bilities .... and that there were no spirits of any prophets
" in our days, which ought not to be subject to the spirits
" of other prophets. That they would therefore yield them-
" selves unto the apostolical rules of *trying all things;*
" and not be carried away, either with rashness or preju-
" dice, to believe any spirit, until they had tried it tho-
" roughly, whether it were of God. And he declared his in-
" tent herein to be, to establish many men's minds, in that
" giddy age, from running up and down after every young
" start-up hither and thither, to seek new platforms of
" Church government; when as we have one of our own:
" which, he said, was in his conscience truly apostolical,
" and far to be preferred before any other that was received
" at that day, by any reformed Church in Christendom."

Therein letters from foreign Churches produced. Surv. 135, 452.

In this book, because the Disciplinarians urged the practice of foreign reformed Churches, Dr. Bancroft produced divers letters of Zanchy in approbation of episcopacy, and of Bullinger and Gualter, to several English Bishops, in disallowance altogether of these innovators.

405

This substantial tract in defence of the Church's practice and government, was followed the next year by another, of great strength of reason and judgment, written by Richard Hooker, another person well known and favoured by our Archbishop, as we have partly seen, and shall see in the process of our history.

Some account of Dr. Bancroft's book.

But to return to Bancroft's book, and to tarry a little longer upon it. His book, he tells us, contained notes and observations as he had formerly gathered, when by occasion of the great opinion which began to grow of the Geneva form of ecclesiastical discipline, he was bold, as he said, to try and examine it, according to the measure of

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

such small ability and judgment as God had endued him withal. He sheweth what his judgment was of the government of this Church; that it was truly apostolical: and, (in respect of foreigners interposing themselves in our English Church's affairs,) "that it was also great presumption "for any Ministers of any of the reformed Churches, to "take upon them to censure or direct the practice of this "Church of England; reformed by men of as much or "more learning and ability than themselves." And here he mentioned particularly Calvin and Beza: under whose wings the new reformers here did shroud themselves.

Calvin's Censure censured.

Concerning the former he took notice, how when Knox and Whittingham had sent from Frankfort the English Liturgy, translated into Latin, to him to peruse; and Calvin, in his epistle to them, had given his judgment of it in these words, that *therein he saw many trifles, yet that might be borne with;* Bancroft, in some zeal, asserted, "that the said Book of our Common Prayer was compiled "and confirmed before by such men and such authority, "as he ought to have reverenced. And that although Beza "thought this epistle of Calvin fit to be published, among "the rest of his epistles, in print, yet we should find it to "contain not one point of substance in it, for to persuade "a child. So as thereby one might judge of their giddi-"ness, as he added, who were moved so greatly with it." He means the said Knox and Whittingham, and some other of the English exiles then at Frankfort, who went away upon it to Geneva.

Multas video fuisse tolerabiles ineptias.

Beza's confidence considered. Epist. 8va.

And when Beza assumed to patronize the disaffected here, and writ a letter in their behalf unto Grindal, Bishop of London, in the year 1566, it was penned with so much confidence and authority, that our author used these words concerning it; "That he wished a man would read the "epistles of Leo, sometime Bishop of Rome, and confer "them with one of Beza's; to consider, whether took more "upon him, Leo, where he might command, or Beza, where "there was no reason he should at all have intermeddled." And when these new reformers wrote again to Beza, the

next year, and Beza had despatched another letter hither in their defence, our author made this censure upon both, "that it was a fond part of them to write unto him, and "a very insolent part for him to take so much upon him." This, it seems, gave that learned foreigner offence; insomuch, that he took notice of it soon after in a letter to the Archbishop. Though, no question, these were some of the thoughts and instructions of Bancroft's patron, the said Archbishop. Yea, he took occasion himself, about this time, to tell Beza, (though after a very civil and courteous manner,) how he meddled beyond his measure; and expostulated very closely with him about these Church matters here, being out of his own jurisdiction. He had of late, upon occasion, written two or three letters to the Archbishop, and that with all due respect too, giving him his titles, and owning this Church and the government thereof: as was in part shewn under the year 1591. Now this year the Archbishop wrote a large letter in Latin to him; declaring plainly his mind; and gently blaming him for siding so much with such as created no little disquiet and disturbance in this kingdom and Church. And therein also vindicating Saravia and Sutcliff, two learned men of this Church; who had written in the behalf of the order of episcopacy, and against Beza's doctrine of the equality of Ministers of the Gospel, and a ruling presbytery. Whereat the foreigner took offence, and complained of the writer to the Archbishop. Who shewed him in this his answer, that he himself had given the first occasion, by the unhandsome reflections he had made, more than once in print, against the episcopal government of this Church. This excellent letter is printed in the late edition of the Antiquities of Canterbury: beginning, *Gratiam et pacem a Deo Patre Domino nostro Jesu Christo. Literæ tuæ, clarissime vir, ac frater in Deo charissime*, &c. Which soundeth to this sense in English: (for I think it worthy to lay before the reader's eyes; shewing so much of the Archbishop's wisdom, learning, moderation, respect for foreign reformed Churches, and his devotedness to the service of

Anno 1593.

The Archbishop expostulates with Beza.

Saravia, Sutcliff.

406 Cantuar. Sacra. Append. No. XV.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

this Church.) Though I shall not follow that printed, but a much more correct and exact copy, in MS. sometime in the possession of Tho. Turner, D. D. deceased, communicated to me by the Reverend Edm. Chishul, B. D. his executor.

His letter to Beza.

"That the letter, without date, wrote, he supposed, in "August, was delivered him in December, with a letter of "their Republic, written to the Queen's Majesty: which "he presently caused to be delivered to her Highness. "That he was grieved, that the storm of war still hung "over their territories. Yet he congratulated them, in that "he understood from him, that that firmness and constancy "of mind, in the profession of the truth of the Gospel, yet "remained to their Churches; which, depending on the "grace of God, were not shocked or removed by the late "very grievous misfortune. But whereas, in his letter, he "wished very much that the licence of printing any thing "might be restrained, and that some stop might be put to "that licentiousness of writing; it was very lovingly done "of him, in thinking us [here in England] worthy of ad-"monition in this regard. That in like manner it seemed "to him [the Archbishop] to be a thing to be wished, that "some measure should be put to the writings of smatter-"ers in learning, but greatly conceited; or at least to the "licence every where of putting any thing into the press; "if now at least it might be done. Whence it might come "to pass, that the world hereafter might neither flow nor "labour with such a bulk of unprofitable and unlearned "tracts, as then was customary. But also, that if the la-"bours of some had been employed, not against their bre-"thren, that professed one and the same substance of true "doctrine, but to the throwing down or beating back the "kingdom of the common enemy, the Roman Antichrist, "it would now have fared better and happier, in his judg-"ment, with the Church of Christ.

"That God himself was witness, how nothing was done "in that behalf by them in England, but with the greatest "unwillingness, having been long and much provoked by

" the less brotherly writings and admonitions of others. CHAP. X.
" But that the disturbances which certain unquiet, nay,
" and seditious persons, now for many years had caused Anno 1593.
" here, to bring in that ecclesiastical discipline, which was
" in force among *them*, should cross the sea, and be laid to
" the charge of them, [at Geneva,] and in particular to
" him, as the author and favourer of those troubles, that
" Beza seemed much to complain of. And that, in this
" matter, he thought he received very great wrong from
" certain books here set forth, and by hyperbolical and
" most unworthy slanderous reports; as though he would
" have all episcopacy abolished, and bring back into the
" Church a democratical *ataxy;* yea, an *ochlocracy*, (*i. e.*)
" the government of the multitude; and would obtrude the
" Geneva discipline upon all churches."

On occasion of which complaint made thus to the Archbishop, thus did the said most reverend Father gravely and closely address himself to him; " But, my dear Beza, mind
" what I do candidly and sincerely (as in the Lord) answer
" to this your expostulation. And I hope, you will not take
" it grievously, if here I shall discourse with you, accord-
" ing to my manner, a little more freely; because I had
" not touched these things, but being voluntarily invited
" by you, when you would understand from me what I
" think of this whole business." And then he proceeded thus: " That Beza's well known piety and prudence was
" the cause, that he could never be induced to think, that
" he either did on purpose endeavour to stir up, or that he
" ever would approve of those troubles, which then for a
" long time had exercised the Church of England. But
" yet, from such things as he should now subjoin, he de-
" sired him seriously to think with himself, whether such
" people of this land, which were desirous of novelty, and
" hot with an affectation of *their* discipline, had taken no
" small occasion of making those disturbances from things
" vented now and then in books written and published 407
" among them. That from that very time almost wherein
" that discipline, which they at Geneva espoused, first

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

" sprung up and was received, we here [in England] (said " the Archbishop) saw no stone by them unturned, to ren- " der it commended to all the rest of the world, for the " only and genuine government of the Church; which " Christ had instituted, the Apostles observed, and which " all the Churches (if they would set up a solid reforma- " tion) were bound to restore. For much of that sort was " diligently and every where inculcated by Calvin, Daneus, " Sadeel, Ursin; and set forth by him [Beza] in many " theses there propounded; in his Annotations also upon " the New Testament, in the book of Confession, and in " his own Epistles. But although he had not charged these " things expressly (as the Archbishop proceeded) upon the " Church of England, or other distinct Churches, but had " only laid them down, as it were, *in thesi*, did they not " bring with them, as the Archbishop demanded, very great " prejudice; and in effect condemned all other reformed " Churches, which did not follow nor admit this kind of " government? Especially, when, in those his letters, he " asserted, that the Churches of their government seemed " to them the essential form; and yet in the mean time " they did not acknowledge any other for the lawful polity " of Christ, but that which flourished there among them."

Bez. Ep. 14.

Upon this the Archbishop bade him " to recollect a lit- " tle with him, how he himself stopped not here, but had " gone further; *viz.* that he disputed, somewhere, that the " purity of doctrine could scarcely be had to any purpose " without that discipline: saying, *Wherefore should we re- " ceive one part of the word, and reject the other?* That, " somewhere else, he hesitated not, premising a threat, to " exhort all pious men, as well Princes as Pastors, diligently " to set about this matter; that it might be restored ac- " cording to the word of God, and to be exercised with " edification, hinting always thereby (if he mistook not) " their discipline, and esteeming it for divine. That the " manner of his writing, although it was done with the " greatest prejudice of the Church of England, might have " more equally been borne, if he had not declared the

" need of such a regiment more especially in the British Churches. For what else, added the Archbishop, meant those words, concerning a full restoration of ecclesiastical discipline to be adjoined? And his calling upon and exhorting the Queen of England to purge the temple; and once at last to abolish all the high places: and that in one other epistle he wisheth, that by the Queen's authority presbyteries and deaconries were here set up? And withal, that he earnestly beseeched those that were of the Queen's Council, and the Bishops, to enter into methods of constituting this matter, and in persuading the Queen thereunto: and that they should not rest till the thing were done. Anno 1593. Præfat. in Nov. Testam. Anno 1564. Epist. 12.

" That in the year 1567, in a certain epistle of his, he condemned at once almost all the rites of this Church, that had been before received and established by public authority, as well of the Church as of the three estates. Though indeed the Archbishop confessed, that in his last letter to him, he thought aright, that liberty was to be left to every Church in rites, and such externals; so that they made to edification. But that it was clear, by that epistle published, that he judged that all ours were such as did not edify. That in another of his, written the same year to certain brethren of the English Churches, he would seem, in their *miserable state*, as he called it, to suggest to them a piece of counsel, wherein their consciences might acquiesce. But that the rules and laws which he prescribed them, did all seem to him [the Archbishop] as tending to the weakening and infringing the authority of our ecclesiastical polity; and to confirm them more in their former obstinacy. For that he counselled them rather to give place to the manifest violence offered them, than to approve as right by their hand-writing, [*i. e.* subscription,] or encourage by their silence, the ordination of Ministers, without the lawful suffrage of such their presbytery; as he [the Archbishop] said he interpreted it: or the use of garments prescribed; and the manner of excommunication, and some other such like Epist. 8. Epist. 12.

BOOK IV. Anno 1593. 408

"things. And what else was this, added the Archbishop, "but that the Ministers should never be quiet, nor ever "cease barking against the polity of this Church, esta- "blished with the greatest authority, until they were com- "pelled to give way, being restrained by manifest violence. "And how, and altogether not in vain, he then gave them "this counsel, the like facts of many Ministers from that "time following it, did indeed prove: and that too, with "very great violation of the Church's peace."

The Archbishop went on, further reminding him of his ill services to this Church. "That moreover, when he set "forth Mr. Calvin's Epistles, he thought fit one should be "put in by him, which contained nothing else of moment, "besides something to make a sport of the English Liturgy. "Wherein the writer thought he had discovered many *to-* "*lerable trifles*. That again, in the year 1572, when the "rashness of our men began to ferment; and they were "raised to that hope, that in some books fairly printed, "they dared as well to shake this Church's form of eccle- "siastical government, as to obtrude theirs [of Geneva] "upon the assembly of the three estates; he [Beza] stu- "diously commended to a certain honourable Counsellor "then of the Queen's, to promote that cause. And further, "that the same year he writ to Mr. Knox against the de- "gree of Bishops, however they professed the Gospel; "that the Bishops brought forth the Papacy; that they "were Bishops falsely so called, and were the relicts of "Popery. And then he bade Beza see, how solidly and "moderately he had written, [as he pretended to the Arch- "bishop to have done.] And when he prophesied they "would bring in epicureism upon the earth. That he de- "terred him, [Knox,] that he, according to the authority he "had, [in Scotland,] should not admit them, [*i. e.* the Bi- "shops,] being once put to the worst: however this pest "(as Beza called it) were flattered under the pretence of "retaining unity: a plausible matter, that had formerly "deceived many very good men. And concerning these "his Epistles, the Archbishop further told him, that copies

Calvin's Epist. 200.

Epist. 69.

Epist. 79.

" of all of them, even before he had published them, were " dispersed here among the people in England, and came " into many such [disaffected] men's hands. So that his " latter words to Knox had been objected by a certain " Englishman, very studious of innovation, in a book pub- " licly set forth, against this whole order [of Bishops].

" That it was scarce credible to be spoken, how much " peace this Church might rejoice in; and how great pro- " gresses of the Gospel, many remember, were here daily " made; until (which the Archbishop himself knew by ex- " perience) by such, whether *judgments or prejudices*, some " being carried away, began to inveigh, first, against some " habits and rites, and then against the Liturgy; and so, " at length, against the whole manner of ecclesiastical go- " vernment here appointed."

Judiciis an præjudiciis abrepti.

The Archbishop then proceeded to give Beza an account of some books printed here, which he took offence at, as reproaching him, as before was said. " That therefore, " when for the sake of that discipline, and that the degree " of episcopacy might be taken away, to the very great " damage of the Church, all was here in a tumult, and that " this mischief crept on further and further; they [mean- " ing himself and the governors of the Church] were forced " at last, as well for the care of defending the truth itself, " as to allay the heats of contention, to oppose themselves " to those furies, truly so called, in one or two books set " forth in our own mother tongue. Wherein they [the " Archbishop and the Clergy] minded nothing more than " to vindicate the form of the government of the English " Church, and of the Liturgy, from the calumnies of those " men; in the mean time, no where opposing the discipline " of any other Church, or in the least reflecting thereon.

" And that although that virulent book of Travers, this " countryman, entitled, *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, i. e. of " Ecclesiastical Discipline, and of the erring (as he would " often have it) of the English Church from the same, had " been a little after set forth with them, [at Geneva,] they, " [of the Church in this nation,] as they all had imposed a

Travers's book.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

[405]

* alias Sampson.

" silence upon themselves for the peace of the Church, " thought not fit to answer this declaimer: whom other- " wise it had been very easy for any by reasons to confute. " But behold! (as the Archbishop then applied himself to " Beza,) while we hope all things were a little more paci- " fied, your book, my friend Beza, of a *threefold episcopacy*, " anno 1590, sent to this island; and not much after also " translated into the English tongue; and privately print- " ed, together with your epistle to one Lausanus*, a Scot, " written the same year; but flying through the hands of " many, set a new torch to the flame, that was before al- " most quenched. In which epistle, (the Archbishop pro- " ceeded to tell him,) that among other things by him " spoken concerning the degree of Bishops, he wrote thus, " *Ne humanam quidem potestatem, sed satanicam potius* " *tyrannidem*, &c. That is, *I am wont by very good right*, " (*unless I am much mistaken*,) *to call that false episco-* " *pacy, not a human power, so much as a satanical ty-* " *ranny. Which as heretofore it destroyed the Church; so* " *now indeed it hindereth at least its restoration from the* " *miserable state of Germany, and of the country nearer* " *you: I wish Scotland may seasonably enough be sensi-* " *ble of it.* Where he (as the Archbishop told him) seem- " ed to him scarcely to be able to bear that episcopacy " (which he here called *satanical tyranny*) should be es- " teemed for *human episcopacy*, as he stated it elsewhere. " And that under the name of that *nearer miserable coun-* " *try* he did not obscurely point out England. And in that " book of his, besides that he seemed to speak less honour- " ably of the sacred Nicene Council, much less of Epipha- " nius, he contended much, that their discipline might be " esteemed for *divine*, and so be necessarily received every " where: but also that all episcopal degree should be " driven away and banished from the Church, for an *hu-* " *man* and pernicious invention.

" That Fenner an Englishman's book, which boastingly " and stately enough bore the title of *Theologia Sacra*, " which by stealth, and very faultily, came out here first,

" was not long after printed again by them, [of Geneva,] " although it were the same *crambe* of discipline with Tra- " vers's, and stuffed with infinite heterodox doctrine and " errors." And then the Archbishop appealing to Beza, used these words to him: " And now, dear brother, I be- " seech you, what is, if these things are not, to obtrude " the Geneva discipline upon all Churches, and to have a " mind to abolish all Bishops, (at least those whom we " should have properly called Bishops,) and if you commit " the sum of all ecclesiastical affairs to the whole Church, " what is it else than to bring back an *ochlocracy*, or at " least a *democracy?*

" Now that these, and more such like things, to be so " unkindly and sharply spoken against our order, and the " English Church, (that had deserved indeed better things,) " to be so widely spread abroad in books publicly set forth, " to be so greedily snatched at by a great many, (and that " not rashly,) to its wrong and prejudice, that these very " things have often been objected, as the judgment of other " reformed Churches against this Church: do you not " think these are just causes for us to bear them somewhat " heavily? that by such words, the distemper of some " people once raised, had not been here in this kingdom " yet quieted. For so deeply had those opinions possessed " their minds, that this liberty had much more intemper- " ately diffused itself, and raged, not only against the epi- " scopal function and Liturgy of the Church, as Antichris- " tian and diabolical; but also against the very persons of " the Bishops, by all evil speech of reproaches and scurri- " lities, and by most infamous books printed and publicly " set forth. And yet there was none among them, in the " mean time, had been found, (although touched with ma- " nifold wrongs,) that, either in Latin or English, took up- " on him professedly to shake the form of that discipline " which *they* were so mightily fond of; and for the sake " of which all these things were done. For the purpose of " Dr. Saravia, (as the Archbishop added,) to assert *degrees* " among the Ministers of the Gospel, was wholly under-

BOOK IV.

" taken, without the injury or prejudice of any particular
" Church.

Anno 1593.

An Italian Minister in London, his Double Polity.

" That among those who ran this race against the polity
" of this Church, was a certain person, J. B. &c. a Minister
" of the Italian Church in London, as he, the Archbishop,
" lately understood. Who, to shew how foolishly curious
" he might be in another's commonwealth, not much be-
" fore poured forth his great and ill-advised trifles, under
" the name of a Double Polity, to disturb the peace of this
" Church. And when Dr. Sutcliff had prepared something
" in our mother tongue concerning the presbytery, that
" Italian's book writ in Latin, unlearnedly enough, in the
" midst of England against the English, seemed to him
" worthy to be refuted, and withal to be somewhat more
[406] " sharply handled, as it deserved. This (as far as the Arch-
" bishop could remember) was the first book among the
" English in this land set forth, whether in English or La-
" tin, which undertook a dispute against that presbytery
" which flourished among them there abroad: however for
" a long time before this Church was hardly dealt withal
" by them on that account. That Sutcliff by the way in-
" serted and touched his [*i. e.* Beza's] reasons for assert-
" ing this matter, which he had before set forth against
" Erastus: but yet no where, as far as he [the Archbishop]
" could understand, mentioned him but with honour. Nay,
" in another thing which he set forth the last year against
" the Papists, he did not only ascribe to him his deserved
" praises, but earnestly defended his good name against
" the reproaches of Papists slanderously cast upon him.

Frigibitius, Erastus.

" That as for Frigibitius and Erastus their books, (the
" Archbishop added,) they came abroad altogether without
" his knowledge. Yet he would not have him ignorant,
" that there were not wanting some, as well grave as pru-
" dent men, (whatsoever others there might wonder at,)
" who did not think the edition of Erastus to be wholly
" unprofitable; as well because they thought that he han-
" dled some things accurately, and with the greatest sharp-
" ness, as because the written copies of Beza's own book

" concerning the presbytery, to which Erastus had an-
" swered, were not less common here every where, than if
" the book had been printed before. But (continued the
" Archbishop) we must more justly wonder, that you,
" worthy Sir, being no where provoked, should think con-
" venient to answer Dr. Saravia in a book again set forth,
" as though any wrong were done either to you privately
" or to your Church; only on this account, he taught that
" there were degrees among the Ministers of the Gospel,
" and defended the episcopal degree. And that Sutcliff,
" who, as he hoped, deserved not so ill, was called by him
" a slanderer and a peevish reproacher: that their state
" [of Geneva] suffered to be printed with them, in the
" English language, a certain biting scholastical exercise
" of one Travers, some time ago deceased among them;
" and that Ecclesiastical Discipline of another Travers
" writ in Latin, together with the pretended erring of this
" Church from it; and Fenner's Sacred Theology; and the
" Theological Theses, whereby the whole episcopal order
" was traduced for an adulterine and false ministry; the
" annotations that he had made upon the Apology of the
" Church of England, wrestling the true sense of it: other
" annotations, upon St. Cyprian, very lately by them set
" forth, which did not less deprave the sense of that Fa-
" ther, than those of Pamelius the Pontifician: that so
" every thing might be bent to their discipline."

Then having charged him with these several things, the Archbishop proceeded; " Learned Sir, there is nothing,
" believe me, that rendereth us more ridiculous to the Pa-
" pists, than the shameful licence of making such interpre-
" tations. In short, we wonder, why to us, defending the
" cause of this Church, and of the truth, (as we think,)
" with all antiquity, you think much to grant that which,
" against such and so great a Church, ye have allowed so
" often and so long a time to yourselves. And the Church
" of England, wherein some thousands, as well godly per-
" sons as learned Ministers, by the favour of God, are;
" that Church which God hath appointed now a great

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

" while a safe refuge for so many exiles, and an aid to " other afflicted and persecuted Churches, and wherein the " revenues of the Church are least spoiled of all other na- " tions, as I think; that this Church, I say, hath been " thought worthy to be exposed freely, to be made a " laughing-stock to all men, and to be torn to pieces by " most unworthy contumelies. And yet shall it not be law- " ful, *salva charitate*, for her alone once so much as to " mutter against all this? What in all this business hath " been acted by us less brotherly? What, but when neces- " sity itself at least required? Unless we would be want- " ing to ourselves, to the Church, and so also to truth it- " self. For we make no doubt but that the episcopal de- " gree (which we bear) is an institution apostolical and " divine; and so always hath been held by a continued " course of times from the Apostles to this very age of ours. " For as for what you seem to hint out of Hierom and " Augustin; as though custom only, and that but latter, " preferred Bishops to Presbyters; it is a wonder to me, " that you should wrest their sayings to that purpose; and " that you should not see, by other of their books, what " they, as well as other Fathers, thought of this. And why " you bring in the mention of Ambrose, I do not sufficiently
[407] " apprehend. For neither what Ambrose saith of the first " Presbyter succeeding the Bishop deceasing, nor what of " the Elders that were wont before those times to be ad- " mitted unto the Council, can by any pretence look this " way.

Hierom ad Evagr.

" You may remember, learned Sir, (added the Archbi- " shop, setting himself now to prove episcopacy,) the be- " ginnings of that episcopacy, which you make to be only " of human institution, is referred by the Fathers, with one " mouth, to the Apostles, as the authors thereof: and that " the Bishops [were appointed] as successors of the Apo- " stles; especially in certain points of their functions. And " what Aaron was to his sons and to the Levites, this the " Bishops were to the Priests and Deacons; and so esteem- " ed of the Fathers to be by divine institution: to be thus

" simply and in all respects confounded with Pastors and " Ministers, and will by all means have a Bishop and a " Presbyter to fall into the same rank, that you may make " them equal, and that Hierom and Augustin give their " votes for you, as you seem here to think; do you not " seem hence clearly to cut the throat of that cause you " fight for? For then it will follow necessarily, that none " who is not both Bishop and Pastor is ever to be held for " a Presbyter divinely instituted; and that they therefore " do amiss who depress the Presbyters, whom they think " to be truly so, into another, and that a lower degree, after " Pastors, if they be altogether the same in the truth of " the Lord's disposing: nor do aright whom you sometime " call Presbyters, (*i. e.* Elders,) when they are not ordained " Ministers of the word and sacraments; and bear to do " that which is necessarily required in every Bishop and " Pastor. For the Consistory of the Presbyters, who do not " handle the word and sacraments, who are temporary, who " are not to be maintained on the charges of the Church " which they serve; yet arrogateth a right to itself of elec- " tion, disposition, ordination, imposition of hands, sacred " censure, and the making of canons. And we trust, by " the grace of God, we shall prove to the whole world, that " no such thing was ever known, neither in the Scriptures, " nor ever to any Church before this our age.

" Do you think it fit, grave Sir, that we, so often chal- " lenged as it were to the combat, and by so many books " set forth to the disparagement of this Church, after so " great silence, should answer nothing? That Dr. Saravia " should reply nothing; that Dr. Sutcliff should reply no- " thing: as though we should acknowledge all these things " for truths; and of that nature, that no sufficient answer " could be given to them? And that so, with a greater " envy and prejudice, we should suffer ourselves daily to " be pressed and burdened together with this Church? We " see therefore that we, who are thus placed in this school " of exercise, must necessarily wrestle it out. And in short, " I hope (as the Archbishop continued) it will at length be

BOOK IV. Anno 1593.

" brought to pass; that it may shine out to the world in " what part the truth hath stood; by conferring together " as brethren and Divines, by the help of good reasons, and " the witnesses of the antiquity alleged on both sides.

" But you say, by the use of things I am taught how " the very greatest of evils have sprung sometimes from " the slenderest beginnings being neglected; seeming to " fear, that some more open difference might hence arise " among those that are most nearly joined together in the " same faith. But, answered the Archbishop, take heed, " Sir, lest this be rather to threaten than to foretell only " what is likely to happen; in case by answering we shall " defend the cause of our Church. Certainly, whether you " regard the sayings and doings of our men, I think, for my " part, no deeds or words more unworthy could be invented " than those, which on this account now for a long time " we have suffered. But if any thing more grievous come " to pass from hence, (which God forbid,) yet we trust to " be freed from all blame before God's tribunal; on whom " the necessity of defending the truth and ourselves was " thus first imposed by others. But I would have you " (worthy Sir) persuade yourselves of this, (as the Archbi- " shop added,) that there is no mortal man more studious " of the peace of the Church than myself; nor who, from " his soul, more truly wisheth that every particular Church " would mind its own business, and not prescribe the laws " of rites and the manner of government to others. For " this is μῆλον ἔθιδος, (*the apple of contention*, if any thing " else be,) which bringeth forth that unhappy estrange- " ment of souls among brethren, (how little soever it be " any where discerned,) and will still bring it forth, unless " it be timely prevented.

[408] " Would God it had ever happened, that you yourself " (dear brother) had conversed a little time in this Church " of England, that you might have seen before your eyes " what things are carried about with small candour, by un- " certain reports (and they for the most part false) of per- " sons illy affected to us. So indeed we should have had

" hopes, that that would at least find place with you which " we see happened to many other learned men, carried " away with some prejudice, before they looked more nar- " rowly into our *polity;* who came to entertain a better " opinion of it; namely, that you would hereafter esteem " more rightly of the whole manner of the institution of " this Church.

" To conclude, if any thing seem to have been spoken " here by me somewhat more vehemently, pardon, I pray, " my freedom of speech and just grief. But know, rever- " end Sir, that yourself, upon many accounts, nevertheless, " are dear to me, and esteemed by me. And pray that you " would go on, by your daily prayers poured forth to God, " to help us and the whole Church of England: which we " do diligently for you and your Church settled there with " you, and will do hereafter, by the grace of God. Mon- " sieur Lect I pray salute affectionately in my name; and " give him my thanks for Dr. Sadeel's book which he sent " me, together with his life written by him. Most learned " and most dear brother in Christ, farewell. From Croy- " don, my country house, seven miles from the City; dated " the calendar of February, in the year, according to the " computation of the Church of England, 1593; but ac- " cording to others 1594. Your most loving brother and " fellow-servant in Christ, John Whitgift, Archbishop of " Canterbury in England."

To which I will add the friendly and respectful superscription the Archbishop's letter bore, *viz. Ornatissimo atque eruditissimo viro, D. Theodoro Bezæ, fratri et symmystæ suo in Christo charissimo, ac Ecclesiæ Genevensis fideli Pastori, tradantur hæ literæ Genevæ.*

Sutcliff vindicated in the Archbishop's letter from Beza's slander.

It may be observed, in the foregoing letter, how favourable the Archbishop spake in behalf of a learned and dignified man of this Church, Dr. Sutcliff, Dean of Exeter, upon some hard words Beza had given him. They are found in Beza's book against the *Three Degrees of the Ministry;* a tract writ by Saravia, a foreigner. Where, in some anger, he saith, that " he was censured by one [he

BOOK IV.

" meant the said Sutcliff] that was rather a peevish re-
" proacher, than a Christian disputer." The same Saravia,
Anno 1593. in his defence of his said book, (to be mentioned by and
Non tam Christiano disputatore quam petulanti conviniatore. by,) took occasion to vindicate that learned English Divine, and shewed how little cause Beza had to treat him with such language, since he intended to argue nothing with him; but only considered some of Beza's arguments, as they fell in his way, in his course of writing against some adversaries of the Church of England: and that Dr.
Saravia lectori. Sutcliff spake always with honour of him. " For although,
" as he said, he opposed Beza's reasons in many places of
" his book, yet he did it not with any intent to quarrel
" with him; but only to defend the reformation of the
" Church of England against some people, who seemed to
" abuse his authority and name in their own books more
Defensio, p. 1. " than was fit, &c. He added elsewhere, that it could not
" but grieve him, that Beza should call so reverend a per-
" son, as the Dean of Exeter, by so reproachful a name;
" whose merit deserved better: since he had no thoughts
" of provoking him by what he wrote, or hurting of his
" reputation. But that if he spoke something more harshly
" against those whom he opposed, and that they defended
" themselves with the name and authority of Mr. Beza, he
" ought not to have taken it as spoken against him. For
" the said Sutcliff might well have been moved with a just
" anger against those infamous libels spread here in Eng-
" land: whereby, not so much the dignity of Bishops was
" treated after a most unworthy manner, and brought into
" hatred, as that the whole reformation of the English
" Church was brought into question, and exposed to the
" enemies of the truth in all parts to be decided. Which if
" he [Beza] himself had read, (as he charitably judged of
" him,) and had known what differences and heresies had
" followed thereupon, he would have been more favourable
" to all such whom, after long patience, the importunity of
" wild-headed people had at last even forced to write."

Beza's letter to the Archbishop. Beza's letter, to which the Archbishop gave this large and liberal answer, may also deserve the reader's perusal;

and therefore (not being, as I know, any where published) I have put an authentic copy thereof in the Appendix.

CHAP. XI. 409

Penry seized. His address to the Queen, with other writings of his: for which he was found guilty of felony: and condemned. His Declaration and Protestation before his death. His character. Barrow and Greenwood, for seditious books, condemned and executed. Pardon offered them, refused. Barrow's letter. The Archbishop reflected on therein. Barrow's dangerous principles against this Church. A benefit done to the University by the Archbishop. Their epistle gratulatory to him.

OF John Penry, the zealous platformer and enemy to the Bishops, mentioned under the year 1590, (notorious for his foul language in his books and writings,) some account was given before: a few of whose unbeseeming and intolerable expressions, used towards our Archbishop, and his brethren the Spiritual Lords, I have there collected and set down. He was also reckoned the chief publisher, if not author, of those scurrilous libels, under the name of Martin Marprelate; insomuch, that a special warrant was then issued out from the Privy Council, under several of the Counsellors' hands, (whereof the Archbishop was one,) for the seizing of him as an enemy of the State, and that all the Queen's good subjects should take him so to be. But, as it seems, for the avoiding of being taken, he soon conveyed himself out of England, and escaped into Scotland, where he secretly kept himself till this year, 1593. Here he conversed with divers of the Scottish Ministers of the Discipline, and heard not a few hard words spoken against the Queen, as though she laboured to stifle the Gospel in her dominions: though he (as he related of himself) made other representations to them of her Majesty,

Penry and his writings seized.

BOOK IV.

and by speaking always honourably of her, and her favour (of herself) to religion, brought many of them, in those parts, to a better opinion of her.

Anno 1593.

His petition, or address, intended.

While he was there, he made his *Observations,* as he called them, of words spoken, and occasional passages, chiefly relating to religion, noted down by him for his own use. And there also he compiled a petition, or address, prepared for the Queen; wherein to shew her the true state of religion, and how ignorant she was of many abuses in her Church of England, in the management especially of ecclesiastical matters; and likewise to intercede with her for her favour towards him; and that he might, from her authority, have the liberty to go into Wales, his own native country, to preach the Gospel: and with this petition he was resolved to depart from Scotland, and present it with his own hand to the Queen, as he should find opportunity. Coming secretly as far as London, and concealing himself closely in the suburbs, in the wide parish of Stepney, he was seized with his papers, being discovered by some information to the Vicar of the said parish, who was then either Anthony Anderson or Samuel Cottesford, Vicars successively about that time. The many dangerous passages in the said writings, reflecting boldly upon the Queen, were so provoking, that they hastened his death: for he was committed close prisoner in May, arraigned at the King's Bench, Westminster, upon the statute of 23 Eliz. cap. 2. made *against seditious words and rumours uttered against the Queen;* and executed hastily in the same month, being brought out in an afternoon, out of the King's Bench prison in Southwark, into St. Thomas Waterings, a place of execution on that side the river Thames, and there hanged.

Arraigned and hanged. Stow's Annals.

Penry's wish falls on him. Supplicat. p. 28.

And here I cannot but make a remark, how a wish, or a kind of prophecy of his own untimely end, made by him in one of his pamphlets, fell upon him; *viz.* that *his head might not go to the grave in peace.* "He [God] will, it "is to be feared, enter into judgment with the whole land, "&c. and make his sword drunk with the blood of our

" slain men. Yea, he will give the whole kingdom, high " and low, into the hand of the enemy, that is cruel and " skilful to destroy. That all the nations under heaven, Anno 1593. " professing religion, may fear and take heed, how they do " not only deny to be governed by the laws of his Son " Jesus Christ; but, which is more grievous, instead there- " of, establish such institutions as are directly against his " Majesty's revealed will. If those things be not likely to " fall upon us, except the above mentioned unlawful call- " ings of Lords Bishops, dumb Ministers, &c. be hence at " once, even in this Parliament, rooted out of the Church " in Wales, *let not my head go to the grave in peace.*"

This poor unhappy young man was led away by the zealots of those times, and so came to this untimely end; being born within the time of the Queen's reign, and so, little above thirty years of age when he died. He was a Minister well disposed to religion, but mistaken in his principles, and very hot in his temper, and so became busy in Church controversies, to his own destruction. He had studied the arts and the tongues, and attained to some knowledge and learning therein. He was the first, since the reformation of religion under Queen Elizabeth, that publicly preached the Gospel unto the Welshmen, as he said, and sowed the good seed among his countrymen. And in the year 1586 or 1587, out of his affection to them, he composed a treatise, which he offered to the Parliament, desiring their care and provision, that the people of Wales might be better taught; so, to withstand papistical slanders of the Queen, Bristow or Saunders having given out, that she regarded not the Gospel any farther than it might serve to her own safe standing. And as for his own labours in Wales, he left the success thereof to such as God should raise up after him. In his last writing before his death, called his Protestation, he said, " he never took " himself for a *rebuker*, much less a *reformer;* [which it " seems was laid to his charge;] but that in the discharge " of his conscience, all the world was to bear with him, if " he preferred the testimony which he was bound to yield

Some character of him.

His Protestation.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

" to the truth of Jesus Christ, before the favour of any " creature. Enemy unto any good order or policy, either " in Church or Commonwealth, he said, he never was. " That whatsoever he wrote in religion, he did it simply, " for no other end than for the bringing of God's truth to " light. And he appealed to God, that he never did any " thing in this cause for contention, vainglory, or to draw " disciples after him, or to be accounted singular." He wrote a brief confession of his faith and allegiance to the Lord and her Majesty, during his imprisonment, which he delivered to Mr. Young, an eminent Justice of the Peace, then in London, as his last and dying judgment. He left behind him a widow and four young children.

But now of an authentic paper, containing his Petition beforesaid, that was seized, I shall here give a faithful transcript, by the expressions whereof he fatally exposed himself to the penalty of the said statute, *Of seditious words and rumours* against the Queen.

His address to the Queen, in a Petition.

" The last days of your reign are turned rather against " Jesus Christ and his Gospel, than to the maintenance of " the same.

" I have great cause of complaint, Madam; nay, the " Lord and his Church have cause to complain of your go- " vernment: not so much for any outward injury, as I or " any other of your subjects have received, as because we " your subjects this day are not permitted to serve our " God, under your government, according to his word; " but are sold to be bond-slaves, not only unto our affec- " tions, to do what we will, so that we keep ourselves " within the compass of established civil laws; but also to " be servants unto the man of sin [*i. e.* meaning the Pope] " and his ordinances.

" It is not the force that we seem to fear that will come " upon us (for the Lord may destroy both you for denying, " and us for slack seeking of his will) by strangers; I " come unto you with it: if you will hear it, our cause " may be eased; if not, that your posterity may know
411 " that you have been dealt with; and that this age may

" see, that there is no expectation to be looked for at your " hands.

" Among the rest of the Princes under the Gospel, that Anno 1593. " have been drawn to oppose themselves against the Gos- " pel, you must think yourself to be one. For until you " see this, Madam, you see not yourself. And they are " but sycophants and flatterers, whoever tell you other- " wise. Your standing is, and hath been, by the Gospel. " It is little or smally beholden to you, for any thing that " appeareth. The practice of your government sheweth, " that if you could have ruled without the Gospel, it " would have been to be feared, whether the Gospel should " be established or not. For now that you are established " in your throne, and that by the Gospel, ye have suffered " the Gospel to reach no farther than the end of your " sceptre limiteth unto it.

" If we had had Queen Mary's days, I think that we " should have had as flourishing a Church this day, as " ever any. For it is well known, that there was then in " London under the burden, and elsewhere in exile, more " flourishing churches than any now tolerated by your au- " thority.

" Now whereas we should have your help, both to join " ourselves with the true Church, and reject the false, and " all the ordinances thereof, we are in your kingdom per- " mitted to do nothing; but accounted seditious, if we af- " firm either the one or the other of the former points. " And therefore, Madam, you are not so much an adver- " sary unto us poor men, as unto Christ Jesus, and the " wealth of his kingdom.

" If we cannot have your favour, but that we must omit " our duty towards God, we are unworthy of it; and by " God's grace, we mean not to purchase it so dear.

" But, Madam, thus much we must needs say, that, in " all likelihood, if the days of your sister Queen Mary, and " her persecution, had continued unto this day, that the " Church of God in England had been far more flourish- " ing than at this day it is. For then, Madam, the Church

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

" of God within this land, and elsewhere, being strangers, " enjoyed the ordinances of God's holy word, as far as then " they saw.

" But since your Majesty came unto your crown, we " have had whole Christ Jesus, God and man. But we " must serve him only in heart.

" And if those days had continued unto this time, and " those lights risen therein, which by the mercy of God " have since shined in England; it is not to be doubted, " but that the Church of England, even in England, had " far surpassed all the reformed Churches in the world.

" Then, Madam, any of our brethren durst not have " been seen within the tents of Antichrist. Now they are " ready to defend them to be the Lord's; and that he " hath no other tabernacle upon earth but them. Our " brethren then durst not temporize in the cause of God, " because the Lord ruled himself in his Church by his own " laws in good measure. But now, behold! they may do " what they will, for any sword that the Church hath to " draw against them, if they contain themselves within " your laws.

" This peace, under those conditions, we cannot enjoy. " And therefore, for any thing that I can see, Queen Mary's " days will be set up again, or we must needs temporize. " The whole truth we must not speak; the whole truth " we must not profess. Your state must have a stroke " above the truth of God.

" Now, Madam, your Majesty may consider what good " the Church of God hath taken at your hands; even out- " ward peace, with the absence of Christ Jesus in his ordi- " nance. Otherwise, as great troubles are likely to come, " as ever were in the days of your sister.

" As for the Council and Clergy, if we bring any such " suit unto them, we have no other answer but that which " Pharaoh gives unto the Lord's messengers touching the " state of the Church under his government.

" For when any are called for this cause before your " Council, or the Judges of the land within your land, they

" must take this as granted, once for all, that the upright-
" ness of their cause will profit them nothing, if the law
" of the land be against the same. For your Council and
" Judges have so well profited in religion, as they will not
" stick to say, that they came not to consult whether the
" matter be with or against the word or not: but their
" purpose is to take the penalty of the transgressions, or
" supposed transgressions, of your laws.

412

" If your Council were wise, they would not kindle your
" wrath against us. But, Madam, if you give ear unto
" their words, no marvel, though you have no better Coun-
" sellors.

" This know, Madam, that he that hath made you and
" me, hath as great authority to send me of his message
" unto you, as he had to place you over me." This last sentence is crossed through; the reason whereof seems to be, that upon Penry's trial he was willing to revoke this, but none else besides. There was, besides this, another paper of his seized, called Observations, out of which was drawn matter of accusation against him.

His Observations.

To which I add Penry's Declaration, after he was charged upon the statute of 23 Eliz. for *seditious words and rumours* against the Queen, in those his books; and for which he was found guilty of felony. Which Declaration, of his own or of his lawyer's drawing up, had this title; *Mr. Penry's Declaration*, 16 *May* 1593, *That he is not in danger of the law for the books published in his name.* viz. upon the statute 23. Eliz. made against seditious words, &c. The tenor whereof was as followeth:

1. Because the books which he hath written are only in defence of those points of religion, which, being against the canonical functions of the Pope, were accounted Lollardy and heresy in the holy servants and martyrs of Christ in former ages. And therefore this statute, neither reviving those of 2 Henry V. cap. 7. of 28 Henry VIII. cap. 14. nor repealing that of 1 Edward VI. cap. 12. (whereby he is delivered of all penalties and forfeitures that he might

Penry's Declaration, MSS. Ecclesiastic.

BOOK IV.

have incurred for such books,) doth in nowise take hold of him.

Anno 1593.

2. If this statute of 23. Eliz. be against such books as reprove the Church government by Lord Archbishops and Bishops, then it accounteth the former professions and writings of the holy martyrs, as Mr. Wickliff, Thorp, Swinderby, L. Cobham, Tindall, Frith, &c. the profession and practice of the reformed Churches of the noble kings of France and Scotland, together with the writings of Mr. Calvin, Beza, and others, to be within the compass of *seditious words and rumours, uttered against the Queen's most excellent Majesty, and to the stirring up of rebellion among her subjects.* And so the printing, publishing, and selling of these books, is also within the compass of this statute: whereas many of these books are seen, and allowed, and published, by her Majesty's royal privilege.

3. If this act had been touching such books of religion, then it would have mentioned, particularly, what points ought not to have been contradicted, and what might have been taught, as that of 35 Henry VIII. cap. 1. doth.

4. It would have especially forbid preaching touching these points; which it doth not: for a man may preach all that John Penry hath written, and yet be nowise under the compass of this statute. Whereas preaching that to abstain from flesh on Fridays is a part of the service of God, hath been expressly punished by this statute 5 Eliz. 5. touching the uttering of *false rumours*, &c.

5. If this statute were touching religion, then the Popish recusants, which cause books of Popery to be printed, published, and uttered, were especially guilty thereof. But it is well known, that any Papist in the land, not being a Seminary Priest or Jesuit, may write, print, and publish any books of Popery, in defence of any point thereof, (*supremacy* excepted,) and may draw any man from the true religion, which her Majesty hath established and professeth, so it be not with intention to draw them from their natural obedience to her Highness. And yet he shall not incur

any penalty of death, either by this or any other statute. Yea, and those that are seduced by him shall be punished as recusants, but not as felons. 23 Eliz. cap. 1. and 35 Eliz. cap. 2. &c. Anno 1593.

6. This statute is against such books as are written against her Majesty's own royal person. 1. Because the title and drift thereof sheweth, that it must be against our natural sovereign Lady. 2. Because it reviveth the act of 1 Eliz. cap. 7. which forbiddeth either her Majesty, or the heirs of her body, being Kings and Queens of this land, to be defamed. And therefore the words, books, or writings, contained within the compass of this statute, must touch the person of the Queen, and none under her degree. And therefore it hath no hold of John Penry, who in all his writings hath written most dutifully and reverently of her Majesty and her government. 413

7. He never writ any thing of any malicious intent to defame any person, much less her most excellent Majesty.

8. He never wrote any thing containing any false, slanderous, or seditious matter; but the pure doctrine of the word of God, accompanied with the consent of the reformed Churches of this age, the holy martyrs in former times, and of the truth established by her Majesty's authority.

9. He never wrote any thing to move or encourage any insurrection or rebellion amongst her Majesty's subjects, but the clean contrary.

10. He was never of a conventicle, where any assembly, either under or above the number of twelve, were assembled, with force of arms, or otherwise, to alter any thing established by law. And therefore he is not within the danger of the statute of 1 Mary 12. 1 Eliz. &c.

11. He never wrote any thing that any persons should be raised up of their own authority, to alter any thing established by law; and never was any such attempt taken in hand by any, upon the writing of any of his books. And therefore he cannot be within the compass of 1 Eliz. 17.

BOOK IV. He hath evermore, and still doth gainsay all such godless and wicked practices.

Anno 1593. 12. He should have been accused of the crime within one month; and either the voluntary confession thereof, or the evidence of two witnesses brought against him in this case, should have been given up at the next gaol delivery.

13. He should have been indicted hereof within one year; otherwise, the statute itself (though he had been within the compass of the same) doth clear him in express words.

His Protestation. But all this large Declaration did not prevent his being found guilty; and soon after his condemnation, and a little before his execution, he wrote, at good length, his own Protestation, endeavouring thereby to shew his own innocency, in regard of his constant loyalty and love to the Queen; which he inclosed in a letter to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, dated May the 22d, to this tenor, (giving some farther light into this man's crime.)

Penry's letter to the Lord Treasurer. MSS. Burghley. "Vouchsafe, I beseech your Lordship, (Right Honour-
"able,) to read and duly weigh the writing herein in-
"closed. My days, I see, are drawing to an untimely and
"(I thank God) an undeserved end, except the Lord my
"God shall stir up your Honour, or some other, to plead
"my cause, and to acquaint her Majesty with my guiltless
"estate. How clear I am of that heinous crime, especially
"now intended against me, this my writing doth declare.

"The cause is most lamentable, that the private Ob-
"servations of any student, being in a foreign land, and
"wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his
"life, with blood, unto a violent end; especially, seeing
"they are most private, and so unperfect, as they have no
"coherence at all in them, and in the most places carry no
"true English.

"If I may crave so much favour of your Lordship, as to
"procure that her Majesty, before I be farther proceeded

" with, may be acquainted with this true testimony of the " affection and loyalty which I have ever carried towards " her Highness, I shall entreat the Lord, that you may " not want your reward for this work.

" I know there is none that can take hold of me; and " yet I refer myself wholly unto her determination, and " will be contented with the sentence which the Lord shall " move her to give of me.

" Though mine innocency may stand me in no stead 414
" before an earthly tribunal, yet I know that I shall have " the reward thereof before the judgment seat of the great " King. And the merciful Lord, who relieveth the widow " and the fatherless, will reward my desolate orphans and " friendless widow that I leave behind me, and even hear " their cry; for he is merciful.

" Being likely to trouble your Lordship with no more " letters, I do with thankfulness acknowledge your Ho- " nour's favour towards me, in that you have been always " open to receive the writings which I have presumed to " send unto you from time to time. And in this my last, " I protest before the Lord God, that I have written no- " thing but truth unto your Lordship in any of my letters, " that I know of.

" Thus preparing myself, not so much for an unjust ver- " dict, and an undeserved doom in this life, as unto that " blessed crown of glory, which, of the great mercy of my " God, is ready for me in heaven, I humbly betake your " Lordship unto the hands of the just Lord. In great " haste, from close prison, this 22d of the fifth month, " May, 1593.

" Your Lordship's most humbly in the Lord,
" John Penry."

In that paper, called his Protestation, sent with this letter, it appeared, that he wrote that Address, or Petition, to the Queen, and those his Observations, while he was in Scotland, whither, it seems, he fled for his security, and partly as a student in Divinity. And he pleaded, that

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

what he had written there, was confused, unfinished, and kept secret to himself, unpublished; and that what he writ was the sum of certain objections made by others against her Majesty and her government, as he had gathered up in the place where he was, only with intention more narrowly to scan and examine the truth of them; and so discovering them to be his own. And that even in those writings, so intercepted, he had rather shewn his dutifulness to the Queen, by several passages there, as of his standing up for her, where she was esteemed an enemy to the Gospel, and of his praying to God for her. And that being ready to depart out of the kingdom of Scotland, to surrender himself into her hands, he had begged God to grant him favour in her sight. And that as for those rough writings of his, they were no more. "But the "grounds of an intended treatise of his, which he purposed "with his own hands (as he should have had opportunity) "to deliver unto her Majesty, for the manifesting of his "faith and allegiance toward the Lord and her: wherein, "as in a private advertisement, for the discharge of his "conscience, he meant to have offered unto her considera- "tion, whether many things, beside her knowledge, were "not done under her government, to the hinderance of the "free course of the Gospel; for which she was blamed in "foreign nations, and perhaps would be farther charged "among posterity." But I had rather recommend the reader to his whole Protestation (though it be something long) in the Appendix, where he may meet with some passages perhaps worth his reading.

N°. XVIII.

Barrow and Greenwood, Puritans, condemned for seditious writings.

It was but a month before, *viz.* in April, two more unhappy men of Penry's strain, that ran to the utmost consequences of Puritanism, came to the like end; namely, Henry Barrow, a gentleman, and John Greenwood, a Minister; who were condemned at the sessions held without Newgate, for writing seditious books and pamphlets, tending to the slander of the Queen and government. Both soon after were executed at Tyburn.

The very day they were condemned, (which was March

23, 1592,) Egerton, the Queen's Attorney General, sent word of it to the Lord Keeper Puckring. And giving in his letter some account of their behaviour, expressed how "none of them" [meaning as well the publishers of those seditious books, *viz.* Scipio Bellot, Rob. Bowlle, and Daniel Studly, as the authors] "shewed any token of recognition, "and of their offences, and prayer of mercy for the same, "saving Bellot alone, who desired conference, and to be "informed of his errors, and with tears affirmed himself to "be sorry that he had been misled.) The others pretended "loyalty and obedience to her Majesty, and endeavoured "to draw all that they had maliciously written and pub-"lished against her Majesty's government, to the Bishops "and Ministers of the Church only; and as not meant "against her Highness: which being most evident against "them, and so found by the jury, yet not one of them "made any countenance of submission, but rather per-"sisted in that they were convicted of."

Anno 1593. The Attorney General's letter of their behaviour at their trial. MSS. Puckr. Rev. T. Baker. 415

It was thought convenient to have these men conferred with, as they were, March 26; that is, three days after. The manner and success of the conference with Barrow, and what terms he stood on, and what disputation he required, the said Attorney, in a letter, acquainted the Lord Treasurer with; in short, that he spent the whole afternoon at a fruitless, idle conference.

Conferred with; but to no purpose.

Greenwood is described by one (who lived in those very times, and knew both) to be a simple fellow. "Barrow, "said he, was the man, who, when by roisting and gam-"ing he had wasted himself, and had run so far into many "a man's debt, that he durst not shew his head abroad, he "bent his wits another way to mischief: and so now be-"coming a Julianist, devising by all the means he could "possibly imagine, *viz.* hypocrisy, railing, lying, and all "manner of falsehood, (even as Julian the Apostate did,) "how all the preferments, which yet remained for learn-"ing, (benefices, tithes, glebe land, cathedral churches, "livings, colleges, Universities, and all,) might be utterly "spoiled, and made a prey for bankrouts, cormorants, and

Their characters. Bancr. Surv. p. 249.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

"such like atheists. For so in his libel and writing (said "he) Barrow affirmed." From the principles, no question, he had before imbibed, which led that way. For what should be done with a false Church, but to take away whatsoever upheld it? Which principles also made him utterly to renounce holding any communion with the established Church, as false, apostate, and antichristian.

Barrow refused to join in communion with the Church, because of a false doctrine. Brought. Works, p. 731.

We learn from another author that lived in those times, that one of the pretended false doctrines of the Church of England, which Barrow charged upon it, (and therefore abhorred any communion with it,) was the understanding of the article of Christ's descent into hell; of the hell of the damned; which some Divines then held. This Mr. Hugh Broughton, who was an enemy likewise to that doctrine, made the cause of Barrow's death. "For though "he and his fellow Greenwood were condemned, as that "learned man added, for disturbance of the State, this "would have been pardoned, and their lives spared, if they "would have promised to come to church. But to join in "the communion of a Church that believed erroneously, "that our Lord's soul went to hell, they utterly refused to "do. For thus they reasoned; They who hold Christ's "soul went to hell, make the Gospel to tell a lie; wherein "it appears certain that he went to heaven. But the "Church of England, say they, do so. Therefore, belying "the Gospel, it ought to be refused." This I take from the writing of Mr. Broughton against Dr. Bancroft, to whose charge he laid that doctrine; and on his credit I leave this before related.

Passages against the Archbishop, in a letter of his.

This Barrow and his companion had lain in prison ever since the year 1590, when Cartwright and divers others of that faction were taken into custody, and brought before the ecclesiastical commission and Star-chamber. He was a bitter inveigher against the Archbishop, and laid all the cause of their troubles (nay, and their deaths) upon his shoulders; however, they were prosecuted in temporal courts, and by statutes of Parliament. And he spared not for unjust, as well as most unbecoming, exclamations

against him, as will partly appear by a private letter by him written in December 1590, to one Mr. Fisher; which, as it seems, was intercepted. When a supplication from these prisoners, in the year aforesaid, was conveyed to the Queen's hands, that set forth their sad condition in prison; and he understanding, by some information, that the Archbishop endeavoured to hinder the knowledge of their hardships from coming to light, expressed himself in that letter in such words as these: "That the Archbishop wanted "not his intelligences in all places; and that, belike, being "stung in his guilty conscience, and fearing his barbarous "and lawless proceedings should now be brought to light, "sought, as by a schedule Barrow had sent inclosed, to "suppress the same, by all secret and subtle means; mak- "ing and winning the jailors, by extraordinary favour and "entertainment, to give a favourable, if not a partial, cer- "tificate of the prisoners, living and dead; and so thinking "to disprove the said supplication unto her Majesty. "And through his false informations and suggestions, ac- "cording to his evil custom and conscience, to abuse and "incense her most excellent Majesty, and stir her up "against her harmless subjects. And that the Archbishop "(having already sent so many of these men to divers pri- "sons, as Bridewell, Newgate, the two Compters, the "White Lion, and the Fleet) now [to stop the clamours of "the people against him for such numbers committed by "him] posted these things to the civil magistrates. And "that the Archbishop was still in rage; and [comparing "him to Haman, the great enemy of God's people] had "set a day of Pur, if God by their noble Hester, [that is, "Queen Elizabeth,] prevented him not. And that he had "destined his brother Greenwood and himself to death "against the holy feast, [meaning that of Christmas, this "letter being writ in December;] and all the others, "both at liberty and elsewhere, to close prison; their poor "wives and children to be cast out of the city; their few "goods to be confiscate." And then, as though all this misery came upon them by the Archbishop's means, he

Anno 1593.

416

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

asketh, "Is not this a Christian Bishop? Are these the "virtues of him that taketh upon him the care and go- "vernment of all the churches of the land, thus to tear "and devour God's poor sheep, to rend off the flesh, and "to break their bones, and chop them in pieces, as flesh "to the caldron?" Thus did he amplify himself, as his anger against the good Archbishop furnished him with passionate expressions. He added, "Will he thus instruct "and convince his gainsayers? Surely he will persuade "but few that fear God, to his religion, by this dealing "and evil. Provideth he for his own credit, or the honour "of his Prince, that maketh this tyrannous havoc? That "for their parts, their lives were not dear unto them, so "they might finish up their testimony with joy. They "were always ready, through God's grace, to be offered "up upon the testimony of their faith, which they had "made; [that is, utterly renouncing the Church of Eng- "land, as Antichristian;] and that they purposed to em- "brace the chief pillars of that Church, [meaning the "Archbishop and other Bishops, as Sampson embraced "the pillars whereon Dagon's temple was upheld,] and to "carry them to their graves. And that if there were no "remedy, but that they would take this barbarous course, "it should be to hasten their own judgment. And, as the "case stood, they said, they saw no remedy, being thus "shut up, but to commit their causes and lives unto the "Lord."

He mentioned in his letter a nobleman, without naming him, [Sir Francis Knolles, I suppose,] "that knew their "cause, godly purpose, and innocency, no man better; "but that they dared not solicit him any farther: praying "the Lord to incline his heart to plead the cause of the "children of destruction." By this specimen the reader may judge of Barrow and his spirit.

And what his principles were may be seen by another writing of his against G. Giffard, a Puritan Minister, that had charged his party with *Donatism*, in a book entitled, *A Treatise against the Donatists of England*. Barrow's

Anno 1593.

answer was printed anno 1591, while he was a prisoner; which he called, *A plain Refutation of Mr. G. Giffard's reproachful Book*, &c. *Wherein is discovered the Forgery of the whole Ministry, the Confusion, false Worship, and Antichristian Disorder of these Parish Assemblies, called, The Church of England. Here is also prefixed a Sum of the Causes of our Separation, and of our Purposes in Practice.* In his Preface to the Reader he sheweth the four principal transgressions (as he calls them) wherewith he and his party were charged, and for which they forsook the parish assemblies; namely, "1. The profaneness, "wickedness, and confusion of the people which were "there received, retained, and nourished as members. "2. The unlawfulness of their whole ministry, which was "imposed upon them, retained and maintained by them. "3. The superstition and idolatry of their public worship "in their devised Liturgy, which was imposed upon them. "4. And the forgery of their Antichristian ecclesiastical "government, to which all their churches stand subject. "Which transgressions were such, and so apparent, as 417
"not only to prove these parish assemblies not to be true "established Churches of Christ, but, &c. and sufficient "causes of separation from them in this degenerate "estate."

Barrow writes a book, in vindication of their separation, against Giffard.

This man gave denomination to a sect called *Barrowism*; and was, in effect, the same with *Brownism*, so called from one Brown, a Minister, that appeared some years before, of whom we have spoken. These sectaries became by this time so considerable, that they were reckoned to amount to twenty thousand in number, by Sir Walter Rawleigh, in a speech of his in the last Parliament, 35 Eliz. anno 1592; so that it was found necessary to bring in a bill at that Parliament against those sectaries, and to make it banishment or death; calling it, *An Explanation of a Branch of the Statute made 23 Eliz. entitled, An Act to retain the Queen's Subjects in their due Obedience.* But that bill not being liked by some of the members, as likely to bring other innocent persons into

The sect of Barrowism.

De Ewes' Journ. p. 517.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1593.

danger, not intended; therefore, upon a conference with the Lords, for the better effecting of a convenient law, to be provided for meeting with the disorderly Barrowists and Brownists, without peril of entrapping the Queen's good and loyal subjects, a bill was drawn and passed in both the Houses.

Obtains for the University ecclesiastical preferments in the Lord Keeper's gift.

Near about this time (this year or the next) the Archbishop received an epistle of thanks from the University of Cambridge for a benefit, besides divers others done before for them. This was done for them upon a motion made to him by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, that in the bestowing of the ecclesiastical benefices and preferments that were in the donation of the Lord Keeper, [who now was Sergeant Puckring,] a greater regard might be had to scholars in the Universities than had been before. In compliance herewith he obtained the consent of the Lords, and the Queen's commandment to the Keeper for the same. This cause the Archbishop espoused out of his ancient love to the University and good learning; and so wisely managed the business, that he thus readily performed what they requested. In their said gratulatory letter to him for this good turn, they take notice, "how "many and great favours he had done for them, and how "extraordinary ready he always had been to do them "good, even without their address, or so much as asking, "sometimes. And therefore they did not wonder that he "was so forward in obtaining for them a thing so honest "and just: for they observed to him, how by this means "the University would increase, and that the future hopes "would bring many to come and study there, and to re-"main at their studies, to grow to some degrees of ability "in learning." They enlarged in their said letter, "how "this would turn to the great benefit both of the common-"wealth and of religion too, when every parish should be "provided with men of ability and good learning, sent "forth from the University, to teach and instruct the peo-"ple. In fine, they prayed him, as he had begun and set "on foot such an advantageous matter to the University,

"so to go on, and pursue it, and bring it to perfection." The letter I have placed in the Appendix, as a farther testimony of the good deserts of the Archbishop to the University and to the Church, the benefit of which latter he chiefly regarded in this affair; that the encouragement hoped for by study in the University might the more replenish it with numbers of students; out of which the many parishes in the land, that either had no clerks at all to officiate there, or were but ignorant ones, might be better furnished: a scandal in *those times much thrown upon the Church, especially by the faction.*

CHAP. XI.

Anno 1593.

Num. XIX.

CHAP. XII. 418

Commission to the Archbishop to survey all ecclesiastical courts and their officers. His letters to the Bishops for that end. Articles sent them for inquiry. The Archbishop stirs against new books of concealments. Hooker sets forth his Ecclesiastical Polity. Benefices conferred upon him by the Archbishop. Saravia sets forth a book in defence of the order of Bishops; dedicated to the Archbishop. Saravia's character. Dr. Robert Abbot dedicates to the Archbishop his account of a disputation with a Popish Priest in Worcester.

IT was shewn before, how a strong party in the late Parliaments had endeavoured to overthrow the calling and jurisdiction of Bishops in this Church. The most plausible pretence against them was the corruption of their courts and officers. The Queen, as she had checked these insults against her Bishops, and this meddling more than they ought in matters spiritual, that belonged to her; so, wherein any defects happened, by the neglect of the Bishops, or grievances grown to her subjects by the abuses of their officers, she gave the Bishops public and severe warnings of; nay, and threatened the deposing of them that gave such occasions of offence. This, I am apt to suspect, was the

Anno 1594.

The Queen takes to herself the correction of Bishops.

BOOK IV.

cause of the Queen's great displeasure against Fletcher, Bishop of London, otherwise her great favourite, as we shall hear by and by.

Anno 1594.

A commission to the Archbishop, to survey all ecclesiastical courts. Reg. Whitg. vol. ii. f. 122.

Fresh complaints seem now to have come to the Queen's ears, of abuses in some of the said Bishop of London's courts, either of excessive fees taken, or delays in despatching of causes, or vexing certain quiet and peaceable persons, or such like. For in the month of November, anno 1594, her Majesty sent forth a solemn commission to the Archbishop of Canterbury, under the Great Seal of England, to require and authorize him, and such as he should call to his assistance, to make diligent and particular survey and view of all and singular courts ecclesiastical within his province of Canterbury, to the effect and purpose mentioned in certain articles sent withal. And accordingly, for the diocese of London, the Archbishop appointed, by his letters, his Commissioners for that purpose, the Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Androws, and Dr. Stanhope, a Civilian.

Commissioners appointed by the Archbishop for London diocese.

"And that for the better expedition of this business, and "also for the ease of the subjects, he had thought good, in "her Majesty's name, (as he wrote to them,) to require "them forthwith, and with all diligent care and celerity, "and with as little charge to the subject as might be, that "they should, by all good and lawful means they could, "inquire, and seek to inform themselves, touching every "the contents of the said articles within the diocese of "London, as well in places exempt, or which claimed any "peculiar jurisdiction whatsoever, as in places not exempt, "saving those that were of the peculiar jurisdiction of "Canterbury. (Whereof he, the Archbishop, was minded "to make inquiry, by some persons especially thereunto "appointed.) And that which they should so find in the "premises, without all partiality or favour of any person "whatsoever, to return unto him, fair written, and sub-"scribed with their hands, at or before the last day of "April next ensuing."

The Archbishop, in the same letters, farther required and authorized them, by virtue of the said letters patents

of commission, to cause such of the Vicars General, Officials, Commissaries, and other inferior Judges ecclesiastical, or their set and ordinary Surrogates, and such of the said Advocates, Proctors, Officers, Clerks, and Ministers, as by their discretions should be thought meet to take a corporal oath upon the holy Evangelists, that they should well and faithfully demean themselves towards the Queen's 419
Majesty and her subjects, in the execution of their several offices and places.

And so hoping of their good and indifferent endeavours herein, according to her Majesty's expectation, and the special trust reposed in them, he committed them to God's holy protection. Dated from Lambeth, the 19th of November, 1594. Subscribing, *Your assured loving friend in Christ.*

The articles (which were sent inclosed) were as followeth:

The articles to be inquired of about ecclesiastical officers. MSS. G. Petyt. Arm.

I. "Who is the Vicar General, and who the Official "Principal to the Bishop or see of ———. Or, if the "see be void, who is *Custos Spiritualitatis* there. How "doth the said Vicar General, Official Principal, or *Custos* "*Spiritualitatis*, usually execute any jurisdiction, either "contentious or voluntary there; *viz.* whether by himself "or by the Surrogate; and who be such the ordinary Surrogate. II. What other inferior Judges ecclesiastical; "as Deans, having jurisdiction, Prebendaries, Commissaries, Archdeacons, Officials, or Judges of peculiars, or "exempts, do exercise by themselves, or by their Surrogates, any ecclesiastical jurisdiction through or in any "part of that diocese; and what be their names at this "time. III. What number of Advocates and Proctors, "Registers, Actuaries, Apparitors, Beadles, Clerks, and "other Officers or Ministers, of what name soever, do exercise, or usually attend every such Court, or about such "jurisdiction ecclesiastical; and what be their names at "this present time. IV. What fees, rewards, and wages, "as well every the said Judges ecclesiastical, as also the "said Advocates, Proctors, Clerks, Officers, and other

BOOK IV.

Anno 1594.

"Ministers do now receive, and may and ought lawfully "and reasonably to have and take for and in respect of "their offices, duties, or places. V. What fees, rewards, "and wages have of late time been unjustly encroached "upon, exacted, or imposed upon the subjects, by any of "the said Vicars General, Officials, Commissaries, or such "other ecclesiastical Judges, or their Surrogates; or by "any of the said Advocates, Proctors, Officers, Clerks, or "other Ministers. VI. What injuries, extortions, oppres- "sions, and grievous exactions have been used or com- "mitted by any of the said Officers, Commissaries, or "other ecclesiastical Judges, or their Surrogates; or by "the said Advocates, Officers, Clerks, or Ministers, in the "execution of any of their several duties, offices, or places. "VII. What orders or constitutions, not prejudicial, con- "trary, or repugnant to the prerogative royal, nor to the "laws and statutes of this realm, do you conceive conve- "nient to be set down, established, and observed, in and "concerning every such court ecclesiastical, or the mem- "bers or attendants therein; either for better government "thereof, or else for the redress or preventing of injuries, "inconveniences, and disorders, hitherto grown, or like to "grow hereafter; and upon what pains and punishments."

What success this search into the civil and ecclesiastical courts had, I know not; but, no question, it served much to stop the mouths of such as clamoured so much against the Bishops, for their Commissaries, Officials, &c. and the pretended abuses in their courts. And hereby the Queen made good her word given to her Parliament, to take care to redress abuses and corruptions in the Church, according to her power and sovereignty in spirituals as well as temporals.

Labours to stay books of concealments for cathedral churches. MSS. Puckring.

And as the Bishops' courts and jurisdictions were now struck at, so were their lands; which some busy covetous men endeavoured to swallow up. For the revenues of the Church were again in great danger, upon pretence of their lands concealed, and so forfeited to the Crown; for the purchasing whereof of the Queen customers were ready:

three or four persons, whose names were Jeffe, Typper, Wymark, and Ballard, got themselves into this ingrateful employment; who had now endeavoured to procure new books of concealments for Church lands; namely, such as were omitted in some former books, by them or some others obtained from the Queen. And these lands, now to be gotten as concealed, were no less than such as belonged to the Archbishop's own church of Canterbury, and also to the churches of Winchester, of Gloucester, and the rest of King Henry the Eighth's foundations; and likewise of divers lands belonging to other bishoprics. The good Archbishop, according to his diligence and constant care of the Church, was much concerned about this matter, as he had been before in the like case. And for the stopping of this evil, he sent his letters to some of the Court and Privy Council; as to Sir John Fortescue, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; but especially he declared at large this present attempt to Sir John Puckring, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, as he had been lately informed of it, but how truly he knew not, as he said; however, he thought it not fit to be negligent, and therefore prayed him to stay the Seal in such an important affair. "He did nothing "doubt (as he writ to him) of the validity of the last sta- "tute for the establishing of churches, although these "companions seemed to make [no] account of the same: "yet, for that he was well assured (as he added) her Ma- "jesty would pass no such books, if she were advertised "thereof; and because if any such books should be passed, "it would breed great trouble and charges, not only to the "churches, but to a great number of others her Majesty's "true and faithful subjects, besides the scandal that would "thereof arise both at home and abroad; he could not, he "said, in duty, but most heartily pray his Lordship to "take knowledge hereof from him, [the Archbishop,] and "to do so much at his request, as if any such grant were "already passed from her Majesty, but not passed the "Seal, that he would stay the same, until her Majesty "were advertised thereof. And that, if he might entreat

CHAP. XII.

Anno 1594.

420

The Archbishop's letter to the Lord Keeper on that occasion.

BOOK IV. Anno 1594.

" him to signify to her Majesty the contents of these his " letters, he would take it for a special fruit of his good- " will towards him, and towards the churches also."

And then the Archbishop, shewing his resentment of this unworthy business, (in making the Queen sell such cheap pennyworths, to the undoing of many,) thus expressed himself to the said Lord Keeper: "I do think it a " thing intolerable, that such person or persons, of any de- " gree whatsoever, should be suffered so notoriously to " abuse her Highness, as to pass lands, worth thousands " by year, for sums of no value, as they did in her last " grant of all the Church's lands of Henry the Eighth's foun- " dation, to the infinite loss of her Majesty, if it might " have taken place, [upon which occasion, I suppose, the " act made the last year, *viz.* 1593, was made for the pre- " vention of such abuses for the future,] and to the un- " doing of many thousands, [*i. e.* Churchmen and others, " that depended upon those revenues.] It was likewise " not sufferable, as he went on, that these fellows should " take upon them to give their censure of an act of Parlia- " ment, penned by the best learned in the laws of this " land, and passed with great judgment and advice; con- " trary to her Majesty's manifest meaning, and to the " meaning of the whole Parliament, and to the true mean- " ing and intent of the said statute also. But they dare " do any thing; I know not by what or whose encourage- " ment."

Presumptions of these concealers in Norwich diocese, hindered by the Archbishop.

And then farther to shew the Lord Keeper some of the former presumptions of some of these men, the Archbishop added, " That upon the death of the last Bishop of Nor- " wich, Typper took upon him to grant out a commission " for the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction in some part " of that diocese, if he [the Archbishop] had not forbid the " same. And that he was informed, that Wymark had al- " ready passed, in a book of concealments, some few years " ago, the whole bishopric of Norwich for 40*s.* by year." Adding, " That if those things were true, they were of " great moment, and worthy of due consideration. And

" that if they were not true, there could no harm come of " suspecting the worst. And therefore, in conclusion, he " heartily prayed his Lordship to make the substance here- " of known to her Majesty, saying, that he had rather be " blamed for being too careful, than for being too careless." Lastly, CHAP. XII. Anno 1594.

He let the Lord Keeper understand, that he had written to Sir John Fortescue the same things in effect; but he doubted his being at Court; and that *mora trahit periculum*. And so with his very hearty commendations, hoping to see him at Croyden before the term, he committed him to the tuition of Almighty God. From his house at Beakesburn, the 28th of Aug. 1594. Subscribing, *Your Lordship's most assured, Jo. Cantuar.*

For the better explanation of a passage in this letter, wherein the Archbishop referred to a statute in the reign of King Henry, and another act lately made, I subjoin this that follows: that anno 1593, the act, cap. 3, was for the explanation of a statute made the 34th year of Henry VIII. as well touching grants made after the 4th of February, the 27th of his reign, to his Majesty's use, for confirmation of letters patents by his Highness to others; whereby the grants of Abbots, Priors, and other religious and ecclesiastical persons, given to that King, of their honours, manors, lands, &c. were confirmed. And that letters patents made by that King, for the erection, foundation, incorporations, or endowments, of any Dean, or Chapter, or College, shall be reputed and taken for good, perfect, and effectual, in the law, for all things therein contained. 421

This year the reverend Mr. Hooker published his learned and judicious book of the Ecclesiastical Polity, as the writer of his life saith; setting forth only the four first books at first; and then came out the fifth by itself, saith the same author, anno 1597: before which fifth book the reverend man set an epistle dedicatory to our Archbishop, which, in the last edition, is put before the whole book. I mention this work, not only it being the standing defence of this Church of England, so baited and condemned in Hooker sets forth his Ecclesiastical Polity. Life of Hooker by Walton. Dedicated to the Archbishop.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1594.

these times by a faction; but also in grateful memory to all posterity of Archbishop Whitgift, who was the great patron and favourer of this great though most modest Divine, who by this his writing hath done such excellent service and honour to this Church, and whereby all that are or shall be devoted to the service of it in the ministry, as well as all others that are sincerely studious of the constitution of it, are furnished with abilities to make a right and solid judgment of the state thereof, to their abundant satisfaction, in the wisdom of our first Reformers, and the piety, devotion, and edification of the form of our public religious worship.

Wherein he shews the Archbishop the sum thereof.

In his said epistle to the Archbishop, he gave his account to him of what he had done in his ensuing book; *viz.* that it answered the adversary's assertions: as, "that "touching the several duties of Christian religion, there "was among us much superstition retained in them: and "concerning persons, which, for performance of those du- "ties, were endued with a power of ecclesiastical orders, "that our laws and proceedings according thereunto were "many ways herein also corrupted. That this his book "was chiefly intended for the vindication of every part of "our Liturgy." And this he thought fit to dedicate to our Archbishop, addressing to him in this manner; (and which I do the rather set down, because of several things by Mr. Hooker here spoken, that do give some particular notices of our Archbishop, as well as of the cause:) "That "the long continued and more than ordinary favour, which "hitherto his Grace had been pleased to shew towards "him, might justly claim at his hands some thankful ac- "knowledgment thereof. In which consideration, as also "for that he embraced willingly the ancient received "course and conveniency of that discipline, that taught "the inferior degrees and orders in the Church of God, to "submit their writings to the same authority, from which "their allowable dealings whatsoever, in such affairs, were "to receive approbation; that he nothing feared, but his "accustomed clemency would take in good worth the offer

" of those his simple and mean labours, bestowed for the " necessary justification of laws heretofore made question- " able; because, as he took it, they were not perfectly un- " derstood, &c.———That these fervent reprehenders of " things established by public authority, were always con- " fident and bold-spirited men; but their confidence, for " the most part, rose from too much credit given to their " own wits; for the which cause they were seldom free " from errors. That the errors which they [*i. e.* he and " other Divines of the established Church] sought to re- " form in this kind of men, were such as both received at " his Grace's hands their first wound, [by his writings,] " and from that time to this present had been proceeded " in with that moderation, which used by patience to sup- " press boldness, and to make them conquer that suffer, " [which was the Archbishop's method, and was his " motto,] &c. That he, led by his Grace's example, had " thought it convenient to wade through the whole cause, " [*i. e.* of the controversy for compliments, rights, and " ceremonies of church actions,] following that method " that searcheth the truth by the causes of truth." CHAP. XII. Anno 1594. 422

Observing farther to his Lordship in this epistle, as a weighty cause, both of his Grace's diligence by government, and of his own by his writing, to check these disaffected men's endeavours in setting up their dangerous discipline, he added, " that the plot of discipline did not only " bend itself to reform ceremonies, but sought farther to " erect a popular authority of Elders, and to take away " episcopal jurisdiction, together with all other ornaments " and means, whereby any difference or inequality was up- " held in the ecclesiastical order. And that toward this " destructive part they had found many helping hands; " divers of them, although peradventure not willing to be " yoked with Eldership, yet contented (for what intent " God, he said, knew) [perhaps to partake in the spoil of " the Church's revenues] to uphold opposition against Bi- " shops, not without great hurt to the course of their whole Hooker's apprehension of the Discipline.

BOOK IV.

"proceedings in the business of God, and her Majesty's "service."

Anno 1594. Placed by the Archbishop at Boscomb and Bishopthorp.

Upon the Bishop of Sarum, Dr. Piers, his translation to the see of York, (not his death, as the writer of Hooker's life mistook,) the Archbishop, in the vacancy of that bishopric, instituted the said learned man into the living of Boscomb in that diocese, in the year 1591, upon his earnest desire to be removed from the Temple, where he met with some discouragement from Travers's party; and affecting retirement, and that he might the better follow his studies, for the public use of the Church, he told the Archbishop, that he should never be able to finish what he had begun, in his service of the Church, unless he were removed to some quiet living in the country, where he might, without disturbance, as he piously said, meditate of his approaching mortality. And that if his Grace therefore would think him and his poor labours worthy such a favour, he begged it, in order to his perfecting what he had begun. And here it was that he finished his four first books of the Ecclesiastical Polity. And now, in the year 1594, the Archbishop procured for him of the Queen (for some reward of his good deserts) the good rectory of Bishopthorp, near Canterbury, in his own diocese, of his patronage, void by the preferment of Dr. Redman to the bishopric of Norwich. Where the grave man spent the remainder of his days.

Hooker's Life by Walton.

There were some other books of note came out this year, which being dedicated to our Archbishop, and the authors of considerable note for their learning, I shall take notice of.

Saravia puts forth a book in behalf of the order of Bishops.

One was written by an intimate friend of Mr. Hooker's, and his neighbour, being a Prebendary of the church of Canterbury, and one likewise in the Archbishop's great esteem, *viz.* Dr. Adrian à Saravia. The subject of this man's book was in behalf of the Bishops of the Church of England; which was the more remarkable, because the author was of Spanish original, but a Minister of the reformed Church in Holland. This book was in vindication

of a former, which he composed when he was abroad; proving therein three orders of Ministers anciently and universally used in the Christian Church; notwithstanding he then lived and conversed among such as followed the Geneva form, which was opposite thereunto. Anno 1594.

His reason of writing his first book. Epist. to the Reader.

The reason that moved him thus to write upon this argument was, (as he tells us himself,) that he had observed, how there were certain scandalous libels [which he had read before he came into England] of evil-tongued men set forth; therein impudently and rudely, with reproaches and railing speeches, set upon, not only the persons of those who were placed over the Church of England, but also the episcopal dignity and degree itself. Which error, he said, was much greater than they could be persuaded of, who defended it with the very great scandal, not only of the Church of England, but of all the Christian Churches whatsoever.

" That what he had done therefore, was not only (what- 423
" soever some thought) to defend the dignity of the Eng-
" lish Bishops; but that his end was, if not to take away,
" yet, at least, to lessen the offences given by some of
" their own men, in many places, to the Bishops of all the
" Churches of Christ, as well of France as Germany, and
" other learned men, and such as were not ignorant of the
" ancient government of the Church; and to supple the
" wound which they then had made, and would never
" heal; and, as much as might be, to remove the *remoras* of
" the propagation of the doctrine of the Gospel."

That he had therefore some notes lying by him, concerning the necessity of Bishops, and the dignity of the Ministers of the Gospel, comprised in a few chapters, which he thought once to have presented to the States of Holland. Afterwards, coming into England, he fell into discourse of this subject with some Pastors of this Church, who wondered at his opinion of Bishops, and seemed to him to believe, that he rather brought it to their ears as a matter of discourse, than that he truly thought so in his mind: besides, he saw their own churches [*i. e.* in the

BOOK IV.

Anno 1594.

Low Countries, where he lived] look that way, as favouring the seditious and schismatic party of the Church of England, and might give this faction in England some cause to depart from and contemn this Church. That he therefore, on that account, to free those churches where he lived, and whereof he was a member, from such suspicion, took upon him the pastoral ministry in the Church of England, and withal set forth his tract of the *different Degrees of Ministers in the Church;* whereby he might [in the name of the reformed Churches abroad] give a testimony to the world of a conjunction of their minds in one and the same faith. And this he was invited to do by the good example of the Bishops of the Church of England, who, notwithstanding their rites and ceremonies were different from those of the Churches abroad, among which he lived, yet did not only bear and suffer strangers to use their own customs and rites in their dioceses, but also friendly embraced and cherished them. [As they did the Dutch and French people in London, Canterbury, Norwich, Colchester, Sandwich, Southampton, &c.] And therefore he added, that they did ill, whosoever separated and divided one from another, because of external rites and ceremonies.

And when he saw, that all the best sort of men did not abstain from the communion of their churches abroad, in like manner he always thought, that he himself ought to hold communion with the Churches of England, in all places where he should live. And that whensoever it happened that he should be present in their churches when the Lord's Supper was celebrated, he partook with them in those sacred symbols of the peace and unity of Christians. And that it was a certain sign of a very weak judgment, or else of a Pharisaical pride and conceit, to refuse the communion of the Church (in which Christ, and grace obtained for us by Christ, is purely taught) only for different external rites.

Shews how Bishops came to be

The same learned foreigner farther spake his mind concerning this venerable order of Bishops, and declared how

they came to be so much opposed; which, methinks, deserves to be recorded, being historical. *Olim Episcopos*, &c. "That heretofore no good man did disallow of Bishops "and Archbishops; but now it was come to pass, by the "hatred of the Bishop of Rome's tyranny, and his party, "that these very names were called into question; and "that by divers, on a different account: some, because "they believed that such things as were invented by Anti-"christ, or by those who made way for him, were to be "banished forthwith out of the Church: others, more mo-"dest, thought, for the reverence of antiquity, that they "were to be borne withal, (although they approved them "not,) until they might conveniently, with the thing itself, "be antiquated. They dared not openly indeed condemn "Bishops and Archbishops, whom they knew to have pre-"sided over the Church, and that with great fruit and be-"nefit: but they were willing to let them go, because "they saw some reformed Churches of these times, which "had received the Gospel, and rejected the tyranny of the "Romish Bishop, and had cast off all the government of "Bishops, did not approve these Fathers, and were more "pleased with a new form of ecclesiastical government, "as believing it to be instituted by our Lord and Saviour "himself, and most different from all ambition and tyran-"ny, &c. But," added he, "why I do not in like manner "approve that form, this is my reason, because it doth "not seem to be sufficiently demonstrated by the word of "God, nor confirmed by any example of those that were "before us, our ancestors, as being partly unknown to "them, and partly condemned in such as were heretics.

Anno 1594.

so much opposed. Prologue to his first tract.

424

"Therefore, of this new manner of governing the Church, "he was, he said, of the same opinion that others held of "the government of Bishops, namely, that it was *human*, "[as Beza did,] and to be borne with, till another that was "better could be obtained: and, on the other hand, that "which was disallowed of, as *human*, seemed to him to "be *divine;* as being that which, as well in the Old as "New Testament, was instituted by God. But because

His judgment of the new government by elderships.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1594.

"it had been defiled by the wicked deeds of men, that "which was to be attributed to man's impiety was as- "cribed [amiss] to the function; as if no like calamity "might happen to this new kind of government, &c. If "any objected, that there were many corruptions in the "government of Bishops, of that matter he intended no "disputation; but that the same complaint might be made "of the government of civil magistrates: but no man in "his wits ever thought that a fit reason to remove from "the magistracy all those who were over the common- "wealth, [how well soever they governed.]

The question.

"The question then was, whether our Lord forbade a "*primacy*, with more eminent power, among the Pastors "of the Church, and Ministers of the Gospel: that a Pa- "stor might not be set over a Pastor, and a Bishop over a "Bishop, to preserve external polity; not how Bishops "had used their authority. If any were minded to accuse "Bishops and their Consistories, either of neglect of their "duties, or for unjust judgments given, there was nobody "hindered but that such things might be brought before "the chief magistrate. That, for his part, he undertook "the defence of no Bishop, nor was he so considerable to "do it; nor had they need of his defence; they were able "to speak for themselves, and to answer their detractors. "All that he did was to lament, that the ancient order, "necessary for preserving discipline in the kingdom of "Christ, and most diligently observed by the Fathers, should "be quite taken away: and that he exceedingly feared, "lest, by the calamity of that age, it might be wholly "taken away; because he saw the men of his times were "so disposed, as to desire that the whole ministry of the "Church might be reduced to the bare preaching of the "Gospel." These were the sentiments of Saravia, that learned stranger, which was the cause of his writing his thoughts concerning the episcopal order.

But that foundation of peace, which this Divine, out of an honest and godly intent, was minded to lay here in this Church of England, both by his example and writing,

CHAP. XII.

Anno 1594.

Theodore Beza, Minister of the Church of Geneva, taking upon him to answer his said tract of the *Three Orders of Ministers*, undermined, and endeavoured wholly to overthrow. For that learned man, much offended at the presumption of Saravia, a private Minister, wrote an answer to his said book, *De diversis Ministrorum in Ecclesia gradibus*, with some roughness, though it was modestly, as well as learnedly, written by the other.

Saravia's book answered by Beza.

But afterwards, in defence of his own book, and in answer to Beza, he wrote another that was printed, dated from Lambeth, under the Archbishop's own roof, the fourth of February, 1594; and dedicated it to the said Archbishop, as likewise to Ælmer Bishop of London, Cooper Bishop of Winton, and Fletcher Bishop of Wigorn, together with other Bishops and Pastors of the Church of England. In the beginning of his epistle shewing his reason of his dedication of this his refutation of Beza's answer, *viz.*

Saravia's defence: dedicated to the Archbishop, and Bishops of England.

" That although it was not only theirs, but the common
" cause of all the Churches of Christ, which he defended;
" yet, because it touched them more nearly, therefore to
" them he more especially fled, and committed the farther
" defence to their prudence and learning, &c. And that
" in this dispute he had defended the episcopal authority
" to be of Divine institution and apostolical tradition; and
" that it was taught, as well by the word of God, as by the 425
" universal consent of all the churches. And that the go-
" vernment of the churches, which the Priests used in the
" Old Testament, and the Apostles and Evangelists in the
" New, was the best, and was profitable as well to the
" Church as commonwealth: saying, that he assumed it
" for a foundation that nobody could deny, that a better
" than it could [not] be found out or devised. And then he
" shewed how in it the Priest obeyed the Priest, and the
" Minister of the Gospel the Minister. That the common
" benefit of the Church, as well as of the commonwealth,
" consisted in this, *viz.* of the Church, against schism and
" heresy; and of the commonwealth, in the mutual and
" necessary conjunction of the Pastors and the Church

BOOK IV.

Anno 1594.

" with the civil magistrate; which could not be brought " to pass with a multitude of equal Ministers of the " churches.

" That the opinion of Mr. Beza was not the rule of re- " forming the Church. Nor such things as were done by " tumult and the rage of wars, and the liberty taken on " those military occasions, [as happened in Geneva and " other places,] rather than by mature and sound counsel, " were an example to be imitated by Christians.

" And that it was the Church of Rome, and their doings, " their taking away the law of God from the people, and " polluting holy things; their persecutions and false doc- " trines, had caused that both the name and office of Bi- " shops (honoured by the ancient Christians) was now be- " come hated, not only by the common sort, but even by " some Divines. And that if the former Ministers of the " Church [meaning the Bishops in the times of Popery] " would but have done as the Bishops of the Church of " England did, they had preserved themselves, and the dig- " nity of their name. And that England taught, that the " Christian reformation of the Church of Christ deprived " not the Bishops, and the rest of the Pastors of the " Church, of any manner of honour which had no impiety " annexed to it. And that it was to be reckoned as part of " the happiness of the kingdom of England, that it retained " this order. And then exciting the Bishops of the Church " of Rome, he bade them take their examples from Eng- " land, and observe how great peace and plenty of all " things, in spite of all the practices of Satan, it had hither- " to enjoyed under this reformation."

England commended for retaining episcopacy.

Towards the conclusion of his epistle he tells the reverend Fathers to whom he wrote, " that the episcopal order " might be retained; it concerned not them alone, but also " the Churches of Christ: and that it was to be reckoned " as a part of the felicity of this kingdom, that it had re- " tained this order. And that it became all pious men to " labour earnestly that it should be preserved; and that " the offence given to the Churches by the abrogating of

" Bishops, that had deterred, and still did deter many from " the true doctrine of Christ, might be taken away, and " that the error crept not farther. That if in the beginning, " when the seed of this error began to be sown, somebody " had sharply withstood it, it had never extended itself so " wide: but that it came to pass, as well by the reverence " which was thought to be due to the first authors of it, " as that some learned men had written more slightly of " this matter; and because of a certain modesty in the " Bishops themselves to speak more freely in their own " cause, &c. But that this error was not longer to be dis- " sembled, nor ought to be by them who wished well to " the Churches of Christ." Anno 1594.

And then turning his speech to the Archbishop and Bishops, he added, " Ye are called by men in an orderly and " canonical vocation of the Church of England, yet your " vocation is from God; and your episcopacy is a certain " *apostolacy;* and which, if it be not from God, whatso- " ever hath been done in the name of the Church of Eng- " land, and of the Lord Christ, falls to the ground.

" And, in short, that if any farther answer should be " made to this his book, as he heard was threatened, that " if Beza should hold his peace, some of his scholars would, " he thought he needed not oppose any thing else than the " consent of the ancient Fathers of all ages, and the au- " thority of the English Church."

This Defence was printed again at Francford, anno 1601, for the use of the Germans, by one Adam Hertzoge, a learned man of Saravia's judgment, who had been angrily handled likewise by Beza, for his opinion of the right government of the Church by Bishops: which Hertzoge, (as it ran in the titlepage,) for his modest dissent from Beza's opinion, had suffered envy and injury. The said Apology of this excellent writer that person committed to the Church, and to all true Germans, to judge of by the word of God, and the continual consent of universal authority and ecclesiastical history; " being a book replenished with various 426

Saravia's Defence reprinted at Francford.

Qui propter moderatissimam suam à D. Bezæ opinione dissensionem, &c.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1594.

"things worthy to be known, and profitable and necessary "to be read, as well by those that are concerned in the "government of the Church, as of the State;" as he expressed the reason of this his new edition of the book.

The death and

This learned man lived to the age of eighty-two, and died anno 1612: twice married; his first wife was Catharine D'Alliz; his second, Margaret Wÿts, who set up a decent monument for him in the cathedral church of Canterbury, where he was buried. He took his degree of Doctor in Divinity at Leyden, where he lived at first; and was incorporated in the same faculty at Oxford afterwards. From Leyden, in the year 1585, he wrote a letter at good length to the Lord Treasurer Burghley, exciting him to move the Queen to take upon her the government of the Low Countries. Part of the inscription upon the monument of the said learned man, giving his character, was as fol-

Monument of Saravia.

loweth: *Fuit is, dum vixit, theologus Doctor egregius, cathedralis hujus ecclesiæ Præbendarius meritissimus; vir omni literarum genere eximius; pietate, probitate, gravitate, et suavitate morum, insignis; scriptis clarus, fide plenus, et bonis operibus dives valde. Natione Belgicâ, natus Hedinæ Artesiæ*, &c.

Robert Abbot dedicates his book of Papists' Subtilties to the Archbishop.

To this book of Dr. Saravia let me subjoin another learned man's, dedicated likewise to our Archbishop, seasonably written against the Papists, and published this year by Robert Abbot, a Minister in the city of Worcester, afterwards a learned Professor of Divinity in Oxford, and Bishop of Salisbury, brother to George Abbot, next successor but one to our Archbishop of Canterbury; whose book bore this title: *A Miroir of Papists' Subtilties; discovering divers wretched and miserable Evasions and Shifts, which a secret cavilling Papist, in the behalf of one Paul Spence,* [a Priest,] *late prisoner in the castle of Worcester, hath gathered out of Saunders, Bellarmine, and others*, &c. In his dedication to the Archbishop, (who had recommended him to the place wherein he was,) and to Fletcher, the then Bishop of that diocese, (who had yielded him special pa-

CHAP. XII.

tronage and countenance,) he shewed the occasion of his writing was some private discourse betwixt him and a Romish Priest, one Paul Spence, detained then in the castle of Worcester, but now living at his liberty abroad. Which, when by speech and report it was drawn to occasion of public scandal, the adversary bragging in secret of a victory, and others doubting what to think thereof, because they saw nought to the contrary, he judged it necessary, after long debating and deliberating with himself, to let all men see how little reason there was of any such insolent triumph; supposing it might be returned upon him for a matter of reproof and blame, if his concealing thereof should cause any disadvantage to the truth, or discredit to that ministry or service that he exercised under their Lordships in the place where he was. And this his doing he professed was only for the city of Worcester, and other people thereabouts, for their satisfaction in this cause, wherein he knew many of them desired to be satisfied. This was Mr. Abbot's first-fruits, being a young man, not much upwards then of thirty years old. His especial drift, as he told the Archbishop, and his Diocesan, the Bishop of the see, was to approve his faithful and incorrupt dealing, in alleging the Fathers against the Church of Rome, in the doctrine of the Sacrament, of the Mass, of Transubstantiation, of Justification, &c. The great matter whereupon the controversy arose, was an allegation out of Cyprian, *viz.* *We find that it was wine which Christ called his blood;* confirming the sense thereof by a place out of Gelasius, where he said, that in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, *there ceased not to be the substance or nature of bread and wine.* And having obtained licence from the Bishop for the Priest, upon his desire, to repair to his study to shew him and others these passages out of the Fathers themselves, it appeared it was but pretence: for when Abbot came to him again, and required him to go along with him, he shuffled it off, and gave, in the end, this plain answer, that he was resolved, and therefore it was to no purpose for him so to do.

Anno 1594.

Cypr. lib. 2. Ep. 3. Gelas. cont. Euty. et Nestorian.

427

BOOK IV.

Anno 1594. The cause of his writing it.

Preface to the Reader.

But after two or three days the said Priest (who was but an unlearned man, and had never been at the University) sent to Mr. Abbot for his books, to peruse the places, (no question by the advice of some other Popish Seminaries more learned than himself,) that whereas he could not presently answer any thing by speech, he might do somewhat by writing. Abbot received his answer, and replied to the same again by writing. But farther he thought not convenient to proceed in this course; but only gave him some advertisement and instruction, which he saw he needed; and to give him occasion of farther conference by speech, as he moved to him in the end. This happened near the beginning of Lent, in the year 1590. Toward Whitsuntide next following, when Abbot thought he had been quiet, and would have meddled no more, the Priest sent him an answer again, written at large to his reply. But the answer, in truth, was none of his own doing; as was manifest afterwards, partly by his own confession, and partly by the muttering report of his own fellows, vaunting, that though Spence were able to say little, yet some now had the matter in hand, that were able to say much. And so he was drawn unawares (as he said) to controversy and disputation; especially having been traduced by the faction, as a man conquered; as if he had taught openly that, which in dealing privately with an adversary, he was not able to defend. And this gave the occasion to this first specimen of that learned man's labours against the Romanists.

CHAP. XIII.

Several vacant sees supplied; viz. *York, St. David's, London,* (*Fletcher, the Bishop hereof, under the Queen's displeasure, suspended,*) *Norwich, Landaff. The Queen's farmers refuse to contribute towards the repair of a parish church. The Archbishop's letter thereupon. Hugh Broughton's contest with the Archbishop about the article of Christ's Descent into Hell.*

CONCERNING the state of the episcopal sees this year, Anno 1594. I find this that follows.

Archbishopric of York void. Bishop Howland misses it.

The archbishopric of York now falling void by the death of Piers, Dr. Howland, Bishop of Peterburgh, and some time Master of St. John's college in Cambridge, a very learned and worthy man, and often by the Archbishop (who knew his worth) recommended for preferment, was earnestly desired for that see by the Lord President [the Earl of Huntingdon] and Council of the North, without his seeking or thinking of, and was scarce known, *de facie*, unto that honourable personage, the said Lord President. For this cause the good Bishop, looking upon it as some special call, addressed a letter to the Lord Treasurer, his great friend and promoter, in the month of October, for his favour and furtherance herein; acquainting him, "that he "had understood, very lately, that it had pleased God to "move the right honourable the Lord President of the "North, (with the good liking of the Council there,) to "nominate him among others for that archbishopric, with-"out his suit or privity, as God, he said, knew. That "therefore he thought it his part in duty, as to signify the 428
"same unto his Lordship, so also to be an humble suitor "unto his Honour, that it would please him (not thinking "him altogether unfit) to vouchsafe his honourable favour "to the same; whereby he should so bind him to his Ho-"nour, as a poor scholar could be to so honourable a per-"son, &c. And that all men that knew him and Peter-"burgh, knew his Honour to have been his only patron

BOOK IV.

Anno 1594.

" and preferer; by whose only favour he was what he was. " And so submitting himself in this, as in all other things, " unto his honourable censure with favour, he recommended " his Lordship to the tuition of the Almighty." From Peterburgh, the 20th of October, subscribing, *Your Honour's in all duty to command, Rich. Petriburgh.* But notwithstanding, this Bishop failed of this preferment; and Dr. Hutton, Bishop of Durham, and some time Dean of York, got it. The confirmation of whose election to that see was March 24, 1594.

Hutton preferred to it.

Rudd made Bishop of St. David's.

The election of Anthony Rudd, for Bishop of St. David's, was confirmed June 8, 1594, being Saturday. And Sunday, June 9, he was consecrated at Lambeth by the Archbishop; John Bishop of Rochester, and Richard Bishop of Worcester, assisting.

Bishop of Wigorn sues for London, now vacant.

The see of London became void also this year in the beginning of June, by the death of Aylmer. Fletcher, Bishop of Worcester, affected a translation thither; chiefly because that city he most delighted in, where he had his education, most common residence, and where he had many agreeable friends, and a considerable share in the love and esteem of the citizens, who desired that he might be their Bishop; and that he might be nearer the Court, where his presence was accustomed much to be; and his influence might be of use to serve the Court: which reasons he moved to the Lord Treasurer in a letter, dated June 29, as he had solicited him before in presence: " beseeching his Honour's " opinion and continuance of that begun favour which " lately it had pleased his Lordship to afford him to her " Majesty. That his education hereabouts, [*i. e.* London,] " and long knowledge of the place, continued as well by " his service in Court, as by sundry other links of friendship " with persons of the City: and that the consideration of " the absence from that charge which he had, did draw " him rather to desire the improvement of his poor duty " and endeavour to the service of God and her Majesty in " this see and city of London, than in any other place of " the realm. And he doubted not but it would please God

" to bless it withal. That his Lordship knew, that it was " something in that function, where the flock and the pas- " tor had desired one another. That in many things, be- " side the main and principal matter of ecclesiastical go- " vernment and oversight therein, his Lordship for his long " experience knew, that there might befall occasions con- " cerning the State, where the Bishop, being regarded and " beloved of them, might be a good and ready means to " give them furtherance and expedition. Besides which, " the general care and regard of pastoral charge, which he " trusted it would please God to settle in him for his glory " there, his Lordship should be assured, (if it so pleased " the same,) that no man, no, not bound with the band of " nearest duty to his Lordship, should be more ready to " respect his Lordship's honourable, either desires or direc- " tions in that place. And so, humbly beseeching his Lord- " ship to make him in this occasion both favoured by her " Majesty towards her own servant, and by the rest of his " honourable Lords, beholden to his Lordship, as in time " past he had been, he committed his Lordship to the " goodness of God."

Made Bishop of London: but falls soon under the Queen's displeasure.

The solicitation of this Bishop (who was courtly, well spoken, and the Queen's Chaplain) succeeded: but it was not before six or seven months after that his election was confirmed; *viz.* January 10, 1594. But his satisfaction in his remove was but short: for the very next month the Queen's wonted favour to him was turned into great displeasure; insomuch, that she banished him the Court; and by her command he was suspended from his bishopric, by the sentence of the Archbishop.

429

And why.

Brief View of the State of the Church, by Sir J. Harrington.

But to relate this matter a little more at large. No sooner was he Bishop of London, but he, being a widower, married a fine lady and widow, and (as we are told) the sister of Sir George Gifford, one of the Queen's Gentlemen Pensioners. And perhaps that was one of the secret reasons of the Bishop's endeavours to be translated to London, to gratify this lady's desire to live near the Court. This marriage (as the Queen liked not marriage at all in the Clergy)

BOOK IV.

Anno 1594.

she thought so very undecent in an elderly Clergyman, and a Bishop, that before had been married, that he fell under her great displeasure. And she gave him either a reprimand by her own mouth, or sent a message to him by some other, not to appear in her presence, nor to come near the Court. The Bishop, finding himself in this bad condition, applied himself to the Lord Treasurer, by a letter from Chelsea, to declare his case, and to use his good office for him to the Queen. At the delivery whereof, the said Lord used some kind and honourable words concerning him to the messenger. But notwithstanding, a command was soon despatched from the Queen to the Archbishop, to suspend the said Bishop from the exercise of his episcopal function. And on the 23d of February the censure was executed on him by the Archbishop's own mouth: for having then sent for the Bishop, his Grace acquainted him with the heavy sentence of her Majesty, *viz.* to cease the exercise of his episcopal and ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

Suspended by the Archbishop.

Which how the good Bishop resented, he himself expressed to the said Lord Treasurer, when he certified him thereof by his letter: "That he confessed it was the more "grievous and bitter unto him, by the remembrance both "of her Highness' former favour towards him, as also for "that he was now become unprofitable for the Church and "her Highness' service: to both which he had so wholly "vowed himself, and all his possibility. Professing to his "Lordship, that he could have wished, when he heard it, "he had also heard (if justice would so have permitted) to "have been sequestered from his life itself. He added, "that he knew how much his Lordship's approbation and "grave mediation might in such cases avail with her Ma-"jesty. Which if it might please him to vouchsafe him, "[the Bishop,] he should, he was persuaded, with the "whole ecclesiastical state, be honoured for it;" [as though the case of the Bishop touched in a manner all the married Clergy;] "and give to himself matter of bond to his Lord-"ship in all Christian devotion and dutiful observance." This letter was dated from Chelsea, February the 24th,

The Bishop's letter to the Treasurer hereupon.

and subscribed, " Your Lordship's ever in Christ, the Bi- " shop of London."

Anno 1594.

It was not before six months after that the Bishop seems to have been restored, as though the suspension had been for that term. For the Lord Treasurer had, in the month of July, 1595, signified to him, that the Queen was in good measure reconciled to him; and that she would give instruction and order to the Archbishop to take off his suspension. And when the said Bishop had acquainted the Archbishop therewith, he shewed himself very ready and glad to repair to the Court, to wait the Queen's pleasure to be imparted to him herein. And to his Lordship's good news he returned this grateful acknowledgment: " That " to hear of the least her Highness' gracious inclination " towards him, in her princely clemency, he could not suf- " ficiently express to his good Lordship, how greatly it " had recomforted him, having these six months thought " himself (as the Prophet spake) *free among the dead, and* " *like unto him that is in the grave;* made unprofitable " unto God's and her Majesty's service. That to hear of it " also, as drawn on and wrought by his Lordship's honour- " able intercession, and so kind mediation, it had greatly " added to his joy and alacrity. I do therefore, as he pro- " ceeded, give your Lordship my entirest thanks, beseech- " ing your Lordship to be persuaded, that among so many " to whom your Lordship hath been *magnus* εὐεργέτης, " there shall be none found whose duty and devotion shall " henceforth exceed his, who with his hand and heart giv- " eth your Lordship this testimony of love and observance.

His suspension taken off, by the Queen's command to the Archbishop.

" My Lord of Canterbury will to-morrow be at Court, " and be very mindful of me for a good conclusion. And " so, with my prayers for your Lordship's increase and 430 " continuance in all God's blessings, I take my leave. " From Fulham. Your Lordship's ever in all duty and " Christian affection,

" Rich. London."

But though this Bishop was thus restored to the dis-

BOOK IV.

charge of his office, yet the Queen would not permit him to come into her presence for a twelvemonth; (however she was humbly moved by his friends of quality in that behalf;) though for twenty years before he commonly was one that waited in his place upon her person, with favour. This long absence from Court the Bishop laid much to heart; which caused him, in the month of January following, to solicit the Lord Treasurer, his former friend and mediator, to procure that grant from the Queen, that he might see her face. This letter also I will not think much to transcribe and reposit in the Appendix, to preserve what memorials we can of the Bishops of these times. Whether our Bishop ever after recovered his place he once had in the Queen's favour or no, I cannot tell; though we have an author that tells us, the Queen promised and gave him a visit at Chelsea. It is certain he died a short time after, suddenly in his chair, taking tobacco, which was not usually taken in those days, unless physically, or as a melancholy companion.

Anno 1594.

However, not admitted to come into her presence.

No. XX.

Brief View, p. 27.

Redman made Bishop of Norwich.

The same day that the foresaid Fletcher was confirmed Bishop of London, was the election likewise of William Redman, S. T. P. Archdeacon of Canterbury, confirmed Bishop and Pastor of the church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity of Norwich; who was consecrated the 12th of January following, at Lambeth, by the Archbishop; Richard Bishop of London, John Bishop of Rochester, and William Bishop of Lincoln, assisting.

Wickham made Bishop of Winton.

The confirmation of the election of William Wickham, Bishop of Lincoln, for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of Winton, was the 22d of February, 1594. His instrument of induction was issued forth to Charles Fotherby, S. T. P. and several other Divines of that church, to take possession of the said bishopric of Winton, for the said reverend Father William Wickham, elect and confirmed Bishop of the said see of Winton.

Babbington Bishop of Landaff.

The confirmation of Gervase Babbington for Bishop of the church of Landaff was performed on the 9th of March, 1594; the acts of whose consecration are omitted in the

register, as sometimes they are by the neglect of those whose business it was to enter them.

Anno 1594. His care for reparation of a church in the diocese of Norwich.

I must take notice here of our Archbishop's care for a parish church in his province, being in danger of dropping down for want of reparation; as knowing how the worship of God, and all sense of religion in the people, would soon decay, were it not for those public places solemnly dedicated to God's service. It was the church of Terrington in Marsheland, within the diocese of Norwich; a fair church, but in great ruins. Whereof information being given, a commission of inquiry was granted for a survey of the several decays thereof. And by the depositions taken, by virtue of that commission, it appeared, that the said church might have been easily repaired in sufficient sort, if such as were parishioners there, and had the use or possession of any lands in that parish, might have been compelled to contribute toward the reparation of those defects; because many of them being gentlemen of great worship, and fermours to her Majesty, challenged an immunity from such contributions, as usually in such cases were used and appointed.

Writes to the Lord Treasurer about it.

This complaint was brought, by the means of the Archbishop, it seems, to the Lord Treasurer, under whose inspection especially these fermours were. The Archbishop therefore acquainted that Lord with this matter, and farther reminded his Lordship, that being heretofore moved in this case, he gave commandment, as he was informed, that they should all be compelled to make payment of such sums of money as they were in that behalf cessed at. And yet, notwithstanding, since that time, those fermours had refused to give any thing to so godly a purpose, but seemed rather willing (as the good Archbishop shewed to the said Lord) to have the said church ruinated than repaired. And 431
therefore he thought good to pray his Lordship, that he would once again give order, that those gentlemen might, with his good liking, be forced by the Chancellor of that diocese, according to the laws ecclesiastical, to yield that rate and cessment that was required for the repairing of

BOOK IV.

Anno 1594.

those ruins. This he urged to that Lord in a letter dated from Lambeth the 24th of June. Where it may also be observed, how the Archbishop countenanced and upheld the power and jurisdiction of episcopal officers in things so useful and necessary, and belonging so properly unto the Church.

Broughton's controversy with the Archbishop about the descent into hell.

Mr. Hugh Broughton, some time of Christ's college in Cambridge, flourished in these times. He was a scholar, that had attained by his long studies in the Hebrew and Greek learning, to exquisite perfection therein. And was therefore highly valued by men of the best account in the realm, both of the Court as well as others. But so infinitely conceited and proud he was thereof, and so rudely uncivil towards all that differed from his sentiments, that it much eclipsed his esteem with our Archbishop, as well as other men of good learning. Among many other scriptural subjects, he had written his sense of that article in the Creed, of the *descent of Christ into hell:* shewing, that the word *hell* there could not be understood of *gehenna;* as Dr. Bancroft, and Dr. Reynolds of Oxford, and the Archbishop himself then held. Of this point, as also concerning the *chronology* of the Scripture, (which he called, *The Concent*, proving, that all time from Adam to Christ ought to be measured by the accounts thereof in the holy Scriptures,) he wrote some certain tracts. But the Archbishop, by reason of the reports that were made of him and his principles, suspected him to broach some unsound doctrines: and accordingly (whether by virtue of the high commission, or otherwise, I know not) sent for him, by some of his officers, to answer for his doctrines. But he, fearing the worst, had thoughts of flying beyond sea, where he had been before. But the Archbishop told Dr. Cæsar, who was his friend, and Dr. Lewin, Civilians, that were of the high commission also, that he sent for him only to give account of some of his doctrines, chiefly that of the *descent*, and for no other intent.

His offer to the Archbishop to an-

But Broughton did not so understand it; otherwise, as he said himself, in some of his writings about this matter,

that he would gladly have come, if he had sent for him by request; but the messengers, as he said, differed in their carriage from all civility and law: and hereupon he resolved to leave the realm. And took occasion to acquaint some Lords of the *monstrous* dealing with him; and "how the "*Latinist*" (meaning the Archbishop, who used the word *gehenna*, it seems, in the Latin sense, to prove that *hell* in the Creed must be understood for the place of the damned) "would be teaching him Greek and Hebrew; that is, that "ἅδης and שׁאול [the Greek and Hebrew words] were to be "interpreted in the same sense with that word in English." Which he, valuing his skill in those languages, took in great disdain. But the mild Archbishop (notwithstanding these unhandsome expressions used by this man, so much his inferior) gave him great promises, (as Broughton himself tells,) if he would but acknowledge them that would be his friends. And that as for his sending for him, it was only to answer Dr. Andrews about the *descent into hell*. Which Broughton understanding upon this message, writ to the Archbishop, from Leyden in Holland, that he would defend his opinion in Cambridge, [meaning it, as it seems, in some contempt of the said Archbishop's Chaplain, and to maintain his opinion more publicly in the face of all learned men, to get the more applause,] in case (as he added) the Archbishop would hazard his fame upon any that would reply against him. Whereat, if you will believe his report, the Archbishop raged, and used terms that the messenger was loath to report to Mr. Broughton, lest, said he, I should repay his unlearnedness with as good.

Anno 1594.

Answer his assertion in the University.

And hereupon he took an occasion to compose an epistle to the *learned nobility of England*: "How, through all "the Bible, (wherein one error stained all,) he [the Arch-"bishop] suffered bad notes to bring in error, a thousand "at once, to make all the credit of Moses and the prophets "worth nothing. And therein, said he, I answered his "heat." Thereby suggesting another disgust he took at the Archbishop; namely, for not being urgent for a new translation of the Bible; which he clamoured much for,

His letter to the learned nobility of England.

432

BOOK IV. Anno 1595.

and charged the present English translation then used, called *the Bishops' Bible.* We shall hear more of these bustles of Hugh Broughton with the Archbishop afterwards, in the process of our story.

CHAP. XIV.

Mr. Broughton fails of preferment; notwithstanding his taking Orders by the Archbishop's advice. Is displeased. He is about a new translation of the Bible. Of which he acquaints the Lord Treasurer; and the Archbishop. Cartwright at Guernsey. The Predestinarian controversy arises. Occasioned by a determination in the Schools: and by a clerum, *at St. Mary's, Cambridge. The points asserted there. Baret the Preacher thereof retracts. Appeals to the Archbishop. The Archbishop writes in his behalf to the Heads: and blames them. Dr. Saravia's judgment of the doctrines in the Retractation.*

THIS controversy about the sense of the *descent into hell,* together with his *Concent* of Scripture, held on some years after this, as we shall see in the course of our history. In both which he gained at last the Archbishop to his side: who laying aside the common opinion received, did acquiesce in the reasons and learning of Mr. Broughton, as we shall shew hereafter. Of which thus did he write of the Archbishop after his death: *Quamvis enim Leucodorus piæ memoriæ semel erravit, tamen facili admonitu mutavit mentem, et nostram veritatis explicationem summis extulit laudibus: ita ut non sit amplius accusandus.*

The Archbishop yields to Broughton's opinion. Epist. Episcopis Angl. Orthodox. Br. Works, p. 776.

All this while our Hebrician had gotten little or no preferment in the Church: which he regretted not a little, (knowing his own merits,) and especially having of late years taken holy Orders upon him (which for some time he declined) by the Archbishop's advice. Who, understand-

Expects preferment. Stands for a bishopric.

ing that he was invited by James the King of Scotland to come and profess Hebrew learning in his realm, (where he had promise of great recompense,) sent him word, that his taking another course would make many think, that he despised the government here at home, either in Church or State: and do the like folly with them that did so. He had now the assurance, in the month of May this year, to move for the archbishopric of Thomond in Ireland. But so as though it were not so much his own request, as the request of others made to him, that he should make motion to the Lord Treasurer for that preferment. Which therefore caused him to write thus in effect to the said Lord; "That upon others' requests to make a motion to "his Lordship for the archbishopric of Thomond, (which "was not worth, he said, above 200*l.* a year,) he made it "his petition to him: and that by reason five years ago "he took a little soil there. That he could accept of it, if "her Majesty would, and it were no trouble to his Honour "to speak to her Highness for it. And so left it to his "sage discretion." In so haughty and seemingly indifferent a manner did he solicit. And so commending that and another of his causes, mentioned in the same letter, to himself, and his health to God, he concluded. His letter being dated from London, May 16, 1595. Anno 1595.

I hear no more of this preferment; it went elsewhere. But in the next month he made to the same Lord another request: which was, that he would cause, as he thought he might soon do, Mr. Day (the same person that was nominated this year for the bishopric of Winton) to resign his dignity, which he had in St. Paul's, to the Bishop of London for him: especially since twelve years ago the Earl of Huntington had told, that the said Day had offered so to do. But he had no mind then to take ecclesiastical preferment; nor since, until the Archbishop had sent him his advice for that purpose, (as was said before.) He added, that his Lordship had some cause to be a little careful herein. For when the present Archbishop was made Bishop of Worcester, he gave over the Prebend of 433

Stands for Dr. Day's Prebend at Paul's.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

Nassington, upon his Lordship's [*i. e.* Lord Treasurer's] letter, after that her Majesty had granted to Sir Francis Walsingham, that he [Mr. Broughton] should have it; when Mr. Hanson, preacher at Hanford, obtained it, [by the means, as it seems, of the said Lord Treasurer.] But notwithstanding, he said, he pleaded no such duty, *i. e.* on the Lord Treasurer's part towards him; but that he was glad his Honour had the like occasion to benefit him now, though in a smaller preferment, "for one," namely, "that "had spent all his life and private gain upon the public "use," as he chose to express his merits.

Stands to be Bishop of London: but misses all.

After a year or two the bishopric of London falling void, he moved to obtain that, as well deserving it, upon the account of his great abilities and long pains (as he spake of himself) for the clearing of the knowledge of the Scriptures by his eastern learning. But that also he missed of, being bestowed, by the means of the Archbishop, upon Dr. Bancroft, a man of great service in the Church, as we shall see, when we come to the year 1597. But these disappointments and neglects soured the temper of Mr. Broughton against the Archbishop and other eminent learned men, as Dr. Bancroft, Dr. Bilson, Dr. Barlow, that got preferments before him.

Broughton about setting forth the Chaldee part of the Prophets.

He was now about setting forth another edition of part of his learned studies, being the Chaldee part of the Prophets, translated by him with short notes: intending to dedicate the whole book to the Archbishop. And so much as he had done of it he shewed to his Grace; and he trusted none of *grace* would despise that his poor pains; as he added in his relation of this matter to the Lord Burghley,

June 18, 1595.

to whom he was writing. And that he was sure another might reap in one hour his twenty years tillage. And he meant, he said, to ask leave of none but of God to go forward in these his useful studies. And then requesting an assistance in this his work, he asked it of this Lord in these words: "That though his Lordship could not be "the first, he might be the chiefest in contribution to-"wards the charge, which would be exceeding great."

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1595.

He meant it in respect of the expense that must necessarily arise from a new translation of the holy Bible, which he was now, among his other studies, preparing; which should be more exactly agreeable to the original text of the Hebrew. The Ministers of the French Church spake to him, that there was not yet a translation from the Hebrew: wherein he was sure, as he said, they said true. And that he hoped in God to afford one that should content all, of all sides, who used learning and conscience; if many helped (to bear the charges) as some had begun. For it was two years ago that he spake of it to the Lord Treasurer, as he hinted in another letter. Wherein he thus shewed his mind:

Prepares a new translation of the Bible.

June 21, 1595.

His letter to the Lord Treasurer about it. Ep. MSS. D. Brought.

"That sundry Lords, and among them some Bishops, "and others inferior of all sorts, had requested or wished "him to bestow his long studies in Hebrew and Greek "writers upon some clearing of the Bible's translation. "That they judged rightly, that amended it must be. But penes me. "in what points he thought not good largely to tell in "words, till it were performed in work; that it less be "disgraced which they then used. That all of knowledge "and conscience would grant, that bettered much it might "be. That this motion had been made long ago: and "that her Majesty sent word and message by one of her "Highness's footmen, being then in the park at Green- "wich, to Sir Francis Walsingham, that it must be consi- "dered. That his Honour meant to take opportunity; but "that other weighty affairs suffered not. That all this 434 "while his pains and charges had been spent for prepara- "tion that way. And furthermore, that he thought good "himself to make motion to such as he held worthiest "and fittest to be contributors to the charges: finding by "experience, that public motions take further time of de- "lay than the whole work required. And that his Lord- "ship he held to be one of the worthiest to be a contri- "butor for the maintenance of some six of them, the long- "est students in the tongues, to join together, as would. "Not to alter any thing which might stand still, (as in

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

"Moses; and all the stories as much needed amendment,) "as to omit nothing that carried open untruth against "story and religion; or darkness, disannulling the writers. "In which kind Job and the Prophets might be brought "to speak far better unto us. And that all might have "short notes, or large, as need should require: with maps "of geography, and tables of chronicles. That to this, if "it pleased his Lordship to be a ready helper, his ex- "ample would stir others to a more needful matter than "the amendment of the temple in King Joas time."

As he had thus signified his purpose to the Treasurer, so also he had acquainted the Archbishop with it, and others. And some part of it he had already done. He spake before of his finishing the Chaldee part of the Prophets, which he had printed. And the whole he intended to dedicate to the Archbishop when finished: and what he had done he sent him to peruse. But neither did this commendable attempt succeed with him.

The Disciplinarian stirs quieted. Cartwright at Guernsey.

This year a new trouble and care happened to our Archbishop, by reason of some points in controversy arising in the University. For by this time he, by his patience, watchfulness, and interest, had pretty well appeased the great stirs raised by the *new reformers:* which held from the beginning of his access to the archiepiscopal chair even near to this time. And perhaps there was the more peace in the Church, Cartwright, the head of all that faction, being now at a distance. For I find him now as far off as the isle of Guernsey. Whence he wrote a letter to Mr. Michael Hickes, one of the Lord Treasurer's secretaries, dated September the 20th, this year 1595, with a form of prayer sent him for his private use, according as he had requested of him. Which being perhaps the last time we shall hear of him in our history, I will exemplify the same letter, and lay it in the Appendix. Which may not be unacceptable to his admirers or others to peruse. Therein Cartwright compared prayer to a bunch of keys, whereby to go to all the treasures and storehouses of the Lord; his butteries, his pantries, his cellars, his wardrobe, &c.

No. XXI.

CHAP. XIV.

Anno 1595.

But now arose a new contention, that appeared first at Cambridge about two years before, concerning some points of doctrine: as, whether true faith might fail; and whether every believer was sure of his salvation, &c. Which seemed chiefly to be occasioned by the lectures of Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Baro, both Public Professors of Divinity there, and both of different judgments in these points. The Vice-Chancellor and Heads being troubled with the heats these disputes were the cause of, had sent their letters to our Archbishop to interpose his influence and instructions to allay them. He signified his mind by Dr. Whitaker; who delivered his Grace's message to the Vice-Chancellor; which was, to take some order, with the assistance of the governors of colleges, for the staying of these inconveniences. But concerning these questions and controversies as yet there was small hope of good issue; as Dr. Whitaker, being returned to Cambridge, wrote to the Archbishop, June the 13th. And that of late in their Schools they had a determination, "That justifying "grace and faith might not only be lost, in some *finally*, "but even in the elect, for a time *totaliter*. And that this "was proved by the example of David. And P. Martyr "and Calvin were alleged as teaching the same: whom "all men, he said, knew to be of a clean contrary judg- "ment. And there was one insinuation given, that we "(said the same Professor) who teach and have always "taught otherwise, are Anabaptists. I was present, (add- "ed he,) and heard it with mine ears, to my great grief. "And then he humbly besought his Grace, for the love of "God's truth, which he knew was planted in his heart, to "repress, by his authority, these ungodly proceedings. And 435
"thus humbly took his leave, with his prayers to God for "his Grace's health and prosperity. Dated from St. John's "college in Cambridge."

Some points of religion disputed in the University, create disturbances.

The Archbishop consulted with about them. Cod. MS. in Coll. S. Trin. Cant.

A determination in the Schools related by Whitaker to the Archbishop.

And as this happened in the University Schools, so a great deal more ado was made, by occasion of a sermon preached at St. Mary's *ad clerum*, upon the like points; *viz.* about the indeficiency of faith, final perseverance, sin

BOOK IV.

the proper cause of reprobation, &c. This Dr. Andrew Willet, Rector of Barley in Hertfordshire, took notice of, in his epistle dedicatory to this Archbishop and the Bishop of London, before his *Synopsis Papismi*. Where speaking of those they called Puritans, or home enemies, "that created so much fear, and were for a good while "very troublesome; now being invited by his Grace's hu- "manity, or appeased by his prudence, or confirmed by "his sounder judgment, were quiet, and held their peace. "Which was matter, he said, to be thankful to God for. "But still, as he added, there was something, that though "it quenched not the common gladness, yet it lessened it; "*viz.* that though the domestic controversies with which "this Church of England had for a long while been dis- "turbed, but were now composed, the ancient contentions "were renewed and grew up again, *viz.* those of free-will, "hypothetical election, universal grace, &c. and the like "questions, which were now so hotly disputed. And then "the good Doctor excited the Archbishop and other the Bi- "shops [to whose office it so peculiarly belonged] to calm "these tempests, that the Church might receive no detri- "ment thereby, or any offence come to the evangelical "faith: and that his Grace would proceed in his care for "maintaining the true doctrine of *Predestination;* con- "cerning which there was now begun to be so much con- "test." This address sheweth, how these disputable points were by this time noised about every where, and a matter proper for the Archbishop's prudence to allay. Which I proceed now to give a relation of.

Anno 1595. The Predestinarian controversy arises. Willet's Synops. edit. 3.

Calvin, the great foreign reformer, his way of explaining the divine decrees of *Predestination* was not entertained by many learned men in the University of Cambridge. But out of the veneration for the man, that had deserved so well of the Church of Christ, it now, about the latter times of the Queen's reign, prevailed strongly there: having the countenance of some of the chief Heads; as Whitaker, the Queen's Professor, and Head of St. John's college; Goad, Provost of King's; Tyndal, Master of Queen's;

Barret's sermon at St. Mary's against Calvin's doctrine, gives offence.

Duport of Jesus; Barwel of Christ's; Some of Peter-house; Chaderton of Emmanuel. This broke out at last into a great heat. For among the rest that liked not Calvin's scheme, William Barret, Fellow of Gonvil and Caius college, did venture to declare his mind, with some sharp and unbecoming speeches of that reverend man, and other foreign learned Protestant writers, (exhorting the auditors not to read them,) in a sermon at St. Mary's *ad clerum*, the term after Easter. And gave such offence to many of the Heads and other members of the University that heard him, that he was summoned before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, to answer for many passages in the said sermon; and required to retract the same. Which matter came at last before the Archbishop. I shall relate the more largely so remarkable a business, having had the benefit of a large manuscript book of the whole proceeding, sometime belonging to the said Archbishop, as appears by his coat of arms marked upon it.

Anno 1595.

MSS. Biblioth. Col. Trin. Cantab.

Barret was charged with several false doctrines vented in his sermon, and other undecent expressions. That is to say, that he spake against the *absolute decree* of reprobation, without respect to sin; against the *certainty* of faith; and that persons might fall away from grace, &c. That he reflected with very unhandsome terms upon the late reformers of religion, Calvin, Peter Martyr, &c. But to show more particularly the cause and matter for which the proceedings were against him; they were these, as himself, and the Heads themselves from him, set them down, *viz.*

Points in his sermon charged upon him before the Vice-Chancellor.

1. *Neminem in hoc fragili mundo tanta firmitate esse* 436 *suffultum, saltem certitudine fidei*, i. e. *nisi per revelationem, ut de salute sua debeat esse securus.*

2. *Petri fidem deficere non potuisse: at aliorum posse. Nam pro fide singulorum non oravit Dominus.*

3. *Quoad finalem perseverantiam, superbam esse illam securitatem de futuro; eoque natura sua contingenti. Cujus generis est uniuscujusque hominis perseverantia: neque tantum superbam, sed impiissimam.*

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

4. *In fide nullam esse distinctionem, sed in credentibus.*

5. *Remissionem peccatorum esse articulum fidei, sed non specialem, nec hujus, nec illius. Nec posse nec debere quenquam vere fidelem certò credere peccata sua esse sibi remissa.*

6. *Quod ad eos attinet, qui non servantur, peccatum esse veram, propriam, et primam causam reprobationis.* Which last, he said, he most firmly believed, and ingenuously confessed he believed against Calvin, Peter Martyr, and the rest.

Proceedings with him.

The manner of the proceedings of the Vice-Chancellor and divers of the Heads with him, was, that he was privately, after his offensive sermon, conferred withal by Mr. Vice-Chancellor, to bring him to see his errors. Secondly, this not prevailing, he was called before Mr. Vice-Chancellor and the Heads in the Consistory; where, at three several long meetings, were present the Vice-Chancellor's deputy, Dr. Some, DD. Goad, Tyndal, Whitaker, Barwel, Jegon, Preston, Mr. Chaderton, and Mr. Clayton. At which several conferences he was laboured with, to be won from his errors; and to have made a quiet end by voluntary public satisfaction: as some others had done in like case, of less offence. Thirdly, he nevertheless persisting obstinately, was in the end enjoined by Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and the more part of the Heads, (according to statute provided in that behalf,) publicly to revoke and confess his errors, in such sort as was, by the judgment of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, prescribed unto him, to be humbly performed and done. Which yet he had not performed accordingly. Nevertheless but the day before, he came to Dr. Some, acknowledging to this effect, (as the said Doctor was ready upon his oath to depose,) that he did see he had taught that he ought not; and that he had offended greatly, in dealing personally against particular men, as Mr. Calvin, &c. and was ready and willing with all his heart so to acknowledge his errors and faults publicly: so that it might be done in the Regent House, and not in St. Mary's. This notification was signed by Jo.

Duport, Vice-Chancellor, Roger Goad, R. Some, Umphrey Tyndal, and other Heads. CHAP. XIV.

But that request of Barret's would not be allowed: so that at length being brought to retract, he did so, May 10, at St. Mary's, in a writing delivered him to read by Dr. Some, drawn up by some of the Heads. But he read it in such a manner as gave offence. And by which it sufficiently appeared, that he did it only for his own quiet. The words of his retractation began thus, *Concionanti mihi Latinè ante paucos dies*, &c. I shall not here repeat it, being somewhat long: and it being already printed in Prinn's Anti-Arminianism, taken (as he writ it) from the University records; and by Mr. Fuller, in his History of Cambridge, having translated it into English. Yet because the former book is not so ready at hand to every reader; and because it is not safe trusting to translations, nor to Mr. Fuller's copies; therefore I have placed this retractation in the Appendix, to be readily gone unto, for the giving the better light into this business. Anno 1595. Retracts at St. Mary's. Page 6, 7, Page 150. N°. XXII.

But the insincerity of his retractation easily appeared to those that heard it: who signed with their hands this paper following, as a testimonial of their judgment both of his sermon and his retractation. "We whose names are "above written, Fellows of several colleges in Cambridge, "being moved to declare what we think of Mr. Barret of "Gonvil and Caius college, his late sermon *ad clerum* in "St. Mary's; as also of his *retractation* thereof, there ut- "tered, being set down and enjoined him by Dr. Some, "the Vice-Chancellor's deputy, and the Heads of col- "leges; do declare and testify, first, touching the said "sermon, that in our judgments and consciences it was "very corrupt, savouring of Popish doctrine in the whole 437 "course and tenor thereof, (even as the Popish writers "do maintain,) interlaced with contumelious and bitter "speeches against the chief, godly, learned, new writers, "as P. Martyr, Calvin, Beza, Zanchius, &c. who are "worthily received and reverenced in our Church. And "finally, so strange and offensive both to us and all others Testimonials of Barret's sermon and retractation.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" of sound religion in our University, as we never heard " the like preached in Cambridge, or elsewhere, since the " beginning of her Majesty's most gracious reign.

" And for his retractation, (being done and read in a " very unreverend, profane, and impudent manner,) it ra- " ther added new offence and grief of heart unto us, and " many other, than any satisfaction of the former; so as " we hope there will be further order taken with him, for " better satisfying so public and just offence. In witness " whereof we have put our names, the 26th of May, 1595." Here were fifteen names of Trinity college, eighteen of St. John's, (among those Henry Alvey, B. D. was one,) five of Christ's college, (whereof Geo. Downame was one,) and some of other colleges; but of King's college not one. The occasion perhaps was a great and long difference between Dr. Goad, the Provost, and the Fellows.

The Archbishop receiveth letters about Barret.

As the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, in the month of June, had written to their Chancellor an account of these transactions about Barret, according to duty, to acquaint him therewith; so they also sent their letters to the Archbishop, certifying him of the same, together with a copy of Barret's sermon, and other papers inclosed: the report of whose dealing with Barret the Archbishop had disliked. For Barret, in shewing his cause, had been, as it seems, beforehand with them. Upon which they wrote to the Archbishop, June 12, to this tenor: " That they being given to " understand that his Lordship had conceived somewhat " hardly of their proceedings against one Mr. Barret, for a " sermon *ad clerum* he made with them, thought good, for " a clearer declaration of his most ungodly dealing, and his " Lordship's further satisfaction, to send to his Grace a " copy of the sermon, as he himself dictated it, subscribed " by his own hand; albeit he had left out most of his bit- " ter and distasteful speeches which he had used against " the learned writers of our age. Some whereof they had " caused to be set down and sent therewith: as a number " of the University that heard him would be deposed: and " also a copy of such points as they judged to be erroneous

" and Popish. And that for the same, after divers public " conferences with him in the Consistory, by the Heads of " colleges, (*viz.* Dr. Some, the Vice-Chancellor's deputy, " Dr. Goad, Dr. Tyndal, Dr. Whitaker, Dr. Barwel, Dr. " Jegon, Dr. Preston, Mr. Chaderton, and Mr. Clayton,) " wherein he shewed himself not only very corrupt in re- " ligion, but also insufficient in learning, and ignorant in " the very common principles of religion; they had en- " joined him a public retractation in Great St. Mary's, by " force and order of their statutes. Which also he per- " formed in very bad and impudent manner, to the great " offence and dislike of the whole University.

" That for their parts, the sermon being so offensive to " the Church, so injurious to the worthy learned men of " our times, so strongly savouring of the leaven of Popery, " and contrary to the doctrine of the nature, quality, and " condition of faith, set forth in the Articles of Religion, " and Homilies appointed to be read in the churches; and " that had been taught ever since her Majesty's reign, in " sermons, and defended in the public schools, and open " commencements, without contradiction, in the Universi- " ties; they thought it meet to express these novelties of " doctrines by such means as their statutes did appoint, " and had been used in like case when his Lordship him- " self was in the University; and ever since for the main- " tenance of the truth and preservation of unity, both in " Church and University. Which could not but be much " broken by such impudent challenging of Calvin, Beza, " P. Martyr, Zanchy, and others, of error in doctrines of " faith, in most bitter terms; whom they never knew in " our Church heretofore to be touched in that matter: and " taking upon him to answer those places which were al- " leged of Protestants for the *certainty* of faith; and al- " leging those places and speeches which were used in the 438 " Tridentine Council and Popish writers, to prove Popish " doubtfulness; and that we cannot assure ourselves of our " salvation.

" That these things gave them occasion (besides his

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" words and answers at his first convention, and his familiarity and conversation with recusants and Papists) justly to charge him with corrupt doctrine. And for his *retractation*, it was so strangely and unreverently performed, that it much increased his former offence. Insomuch that the whole body of the University then present were much grieved: and a number of the well-disposed preachers, in sundry colleges, came to Mr. Vice-Chancellor to signify their great dislike, and to request that he might make further satisfaction.

They added, " That if with this his Grace was not made so soon and so fully acquainted as was convenient, it was by reason the Heads of colleges, then assembled, were presently driven to go abroad, and sever themselves, before any certificate could be made. But how necessary it was, that they should by all endeavours take order that no such unsound doctrine should be publicly delivered there, the state of the University, in the study of many Divines with them, did manifestly declare.

" And this they did assure his Grace, that, to their reason and judgment, if Mr. Barret were either maintained by any in authority in those his dealings, (which they were persuaded none would do, if they were truly informed in the case, and not abused by Mr. Barret or his favourers,) or not further censured, (both in him and in some others, whose disciple he was,) to the example of others; it would not only be a great discouragement to the godly professors of the religion established, but also an emboldening to such as were unquiet and ill-disposed, to proceed both in these points already begun, and in others not mentioned, of like or greater moment; to the further continuance and spreading of corruption in religion, and dissension among them; and so consequently in the Church abroad: which they had no little cause to fear. For that things were already grown to that pass, (which, they said, they did with much grief remember,) that in these times, instead of godly and sound writers among their stationers, the new writers were very rarely

"bought: and that there were no books more ordinarily "bought and sold, than Popish writers; Jesuits, Friars, "Postil-writers, Stapleton, and such like, being the books "that were then best uttered. Anno 1595.

"That upon the search that had been made by his "Grace's appointment, many Divines' studies being search-"ed, there were found, in divers studies, many Friars, "Schoolmen's, and Jesuits' writings; and of Protestants, "either few or none. What might come of this, they re-"ferred to his Grace's wisdom to consider. This they were "humbly to crave, that being desirous to continue that "sound doctrine they had received from their predeces-"sors, and chiefly from his Grace; and had always hither-"to holden without contradiction or control; and taking "as careful a course as they could for it; that his Grace "would judge of their care and proceeding therein, as they "hoped they discovered. And thus with their hearty pray-"ers," &c. Dated from Cambridge, June 12, 1595. Subscribed by Jo. Duport, Vice-Chancellor, and signed also by Goad, Some, Tyndal, Barwel, Whitaker, Nevyl, Jegon, Chaderton.

Barret's letter to the Archbishop.

For Barret had not been wanting in an early application to the Archbishop; appealing from the University, or at least relating or setting forth his own cause to him, and how hardly he had been dealt withal. Which had, as it seems, an influence upon the Archbishop. To whom he had despatched a handsome and well penned letter in Latin: therein telling him, "That his greatest enemy, Dr. Some, "the Master of Peter-house, had brought and was bring-"ing letters to his Grace, and likewise to the Lord Trea-"surer, against him. That the said Some would tell his "Grace, they were not so much brought and sent by him, "as by the common consent of the University. That it "was true, they consented and agreed, but that himself "was the great mover and solicitor. That he had secretly "solicited all the University men, who he thought favoured "him or his opinion, by his friends, *viz.* certain Puritans; "whose labour he used in this matter, and got their votes. 439

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" Yet that many that studied truth and peace had openly " denied him. But that some, whom Puritanism and the " Doctor himself made hot, nay, and outrageous too, agreed " presently, commending his counsel, and subscribing their " names. And that some beside he brought on his side " precariously: but they were youths, whose ignorance in " divinity he marvellously abused. And some they did not " draw, but drag, being tired with importunities, into this " rage. So that he [Dr. Some] and other principal men of " that opinion, what they endeavoured among them [in the " University] had easily obtained."

Further he added, " That a great many of these subscrib- " ers were newly made Masters of Art, and were neither " Divines, nor had scarcely saluted the threshold of divin- " ity: protesting upon his death to the truth of what he " related to his Grace.

" That to render him the more odious, they cried, that " he denied the *certainty* of salvation. But that he was " ready to undergo any punishment whatsoever, if he had " not often said, that believers were certain of salvation: " but to be *secure*, that they ought not to be. That where- " as they complained of the reproaches he had cast upon " Calvin and the rest; as for Calvin himself, of him he had " said nothing, (a few things indeed he had said of the " matter itself,) however he expressed his hatred against " Calvin's rashness and impiety towards our Saviour; as " asserting, that *Christ almost despaired of his salvation.* " But that against the rest, if he said any evil, he wish- " ed all evil might fall upon him.

" But see, as he proceeded, if it please you, how unjust " they are against me, beyond all manner and measure: " here is amongst us an obscure fellow, [*homuncio quidam,*]

Perkins. " whose name is Perkins; who hath written a book in Eng- " lish, *Of the Apostles' Creed:* in which book he denieth " a certain article of faith, namely, *the descent into hell.* " Which article nevertheless is publicly and most firmly " believed and confessed by the Church, and by the faith- " ful in the Church. This tract is brought by the printer

" to the Vice-Chancellor, and the rest of the examiners. " It displeaseth them not. The ill book is approved; com- " eth abroad; and now is sold at London. All is well. Anno 1595. " Now what will become of me? I have laid down nothing " against the doctrine of the Church, as he hath. And this, " whatever it be that I have laid down, yet I have not ex- " posed it in English. Should I not therefore be let alone, " as well as he? No, by no means. For they do not only " not approve of me and my opinion, but presently con- " demn me.

" I therefore implore your faith and piety, my Lord, if I " appear to you innocent of a fault, and free of error. Re- " ceive me, defend me, vindicate me. And I know that you " will vindicate a guiltless and orthodox person. But if I " have been somewhat too hasty and rash, yet surely I will " not be pertinacious. They have punished me enough, " that they have stopped me of my degree." And so he concluded in these words:

Quàm diutissimè te conservet ille summus Pater et Patronus Patrum et Principum; et tu, pater et princeps, me et reliquos desertos non deseras.

Amplitudini tuæ devotissimus,
Guil. Barrett.

Besides this fairly penned letter, being now in London, he applieth to the Archbishop concerning a libel, (as he called it,) that some of St. John's college had dispersed, falsely reporting him and his sermon. Which libel bore this title, *A Copy of Mr. Barret's Propositions, which he held in St. Mary's in Cambridge.* Which copy, with his notes in the margin, shewing how wrongly he was represented, and denying much there laid to his charge, I have laid in the Appendix; to be read there, for the better judging of Barret's case. This libel, as he proceeded to relate to the Archbishop, had been given abroad in London by some of the said college. Therein the libellers, he said, did inveigh in some articles against the truth; in some others, most falsely against him. That the disperser of this copy

Falsely represented by a libel. Complains thereof to the Bishop.

N°. XXIII.

440

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

was one Munsey, of that college, whom (as he thought) they made their instrument. He had left it in a stationer's shop in St. Paul's Church-yard: and by one that befriended him, [*i. e.* Barret,] it was suppressed for the time. But that the occasion of all this (as he supposed) was the abovesaid Mr. Dr. Some: unto whom, being deputy for Mr. Vice-Chancellor, he had complained of this kind of inveighing, and of others also, using the like liberty against him in St. Mary's pulpit. To whom he answered, That he had countenanced and would countenance all those that would appear against him, to the uttermost of his power. Wherefore he humbly besought his Grace, that the authors of that injurious paper might be convented before him and the high commission court; and receive such punishment as such offenders in such case did deserve.

And submits himself to him.

And that for his own part, he submitted himself, as his duty was every way, in all humility to his Grace's determination; humbly on his knees desiring his Grace to be his gracious lord and patron against them that sought his utter undoing. And so humbly took his leave.

The Archbishop blames the Vice-Chancellor for their dealing with him in Barret's case.

The Archbishop was moved with this man's plea, and thought he had hard dealing, and further was of his mind in some points. And Dr. Clayton, Master of Magdalen college, being in Town, by him he sent an expostulatory passage, dated June 8, to the Heads of the colleges, containing these instructions, to be delivered to them by word of mouth. I. That he thought himself greatly abused, in that the Vice-Chancellor, by his letters to him, desiring his advice how to proceed further against Barret; and that he, by divers persons returning to him, answered, that he would well consider of the matter, and then write unto him his opinion; he and others in the mean time had followed another course. II. That the Vice-Chancellor by his letters, after the search for books made, certifying him in effect, that all things were well; and that there were no unlawful books found, but very few, and those in honest men's studies: now the letter from him and the Heads seemed to insinuate the contrary. And that if any of Stapleton's, or

any other fugitives books, or any other books containing matter against this State, were sold in Cambridge, it was the lack of duty in governors of the University. For all books of English fugitives were simply forbid; and so were all other Popish books containing matter against this State. And that otherwise, he knew no reason why students might not have in their studies other books writ by Papists, as ever hitherto. III. That the reasons that made him to mislike the manner of proceeding against Barret were,

Anno 1595.

Reasons of the Archbishop's dislike of the proceedings with Barret.

1. The hasty and rash proceeding against him: not giving unto him liberty to confer with others, nor time to consider of those points wherewith he was charged. A peremptoriness not used by the Papists, nor in any well-governed Church of Protestants; and indeed a rash and intolerable consistorian-like kind of proceeding.

2. In that they knowing his care to have these new occasions of contention appeased, and to that end writing his advice therein to the Vice-Chancellor, to be imparted to the rest of the Heads; knowing also, or at least ought to know, that in matters of religion, it had pleased her Majesty to commit the special care to him; (that University also being within his peculiar charge, in respect of the vacancy of the bishopric of Ely;) yet they would not vouchsafe to make him acquainted therewith, as in duty they ought to have done. Which therefore, the Archbishop added, he could not take in good part, neither yet suffer.

3. For that they had proceeded in matters wherein they had no authority: no, not by the statute by them alleged; these points being not within the letter or meaning thereof: although they had suffered, and daily did suffer, both in their colleges and in other places in Town, men to offend against the very letter of that statute, without reproof.

4. For that in some points of his retractation, they had made him to affirm that which was contrary to the doctrine holden and expressed by many sound and learned Divines in the Church of England, and in other churches likewise, men of best account: and that which, for his own part, he 441

BOOK IV. Anno 1595.

thought to be false and contrary to the Scriptures. For the Scriptures were plain, that God by his absolute will did not hate and reject any man, without an eye to his sin. There might be impiety in believing the one: there could be none in believing the other. Neither was it contrary to any article of religion, established by authority in this Church of England; but rather agreeable thereunto.

Likewise to affirm, *Neminem debere esse securum de salute*, to what article of religion established in this Church it was contrary, he saw not: seeing *security* was never taken in good part: neither did the Scripture so use it. And what impiety was it to affirm, that a man ought to be *certus de salute*, but not *securus?*

To say also, that *credentium fides*, or *electorum fides*, *potest deficere totaliter, sed non finaliter;* he asked again, against what article of religion, established in this Church, was it? That it was a matter disputable, and wherein learned men did and might dissent without impiety.

In fide nullam esse distinctionem, sed in credentibus, he took to be an error: but yet without the compass of their authority; having no article directly against it: and an error of that nature that might be solved by distinction, worthy of reprehension, not of recantation, for any thing he [the Archbishop] could yet understand.

Remissionem peccatorum esse articulum fidei, sed non specialem, nec hujus, nec ullius, was likewise untrue. And that if he had in that manner and sort affirmed it, he shewed therein his ignorance. Wherein he should have been better instructed, and in more Christian manner.

To traduce Calvin and other learned men in pulpits, he could by no means like: neither did he allow the same towards Augustin, Jerome, and other learned Fathers. Which nevertheless had often and many times been abused in the University without control. And yet if a man would have occasion to control Calvin for his bad and unchristian censure of King Henry VIII. or him and others, in that peremptory and false reproof of this Church of England, in divers points, and likewise in some other singularities; he knew

no article of religion against it. Much less did he know any cause why men should be so violently dealt withal for it; or termed ungodly, popish, impudent. For the doctrine of the Church of England did in no respect depend upon them. Anno 1595.

The premises considered, he thought they had dealt in matters not pertaining to that jurisdiction. And if it remained doubtful which of these points were contrary to the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and which not, he hoped they would not take upon them to determine thereof.

In the end, thus the Archbishop concluded; "That if "they meant not to use him in these cases as a friend, he "must use them according to his place, and according to "the authority which God and her Majesty had committed "unto him. And that if they had used these matters ac- "cording to his directions, and as in good discretion they "ought to have done, Cambridge had been as free from "these controversies as other places were. Whereas now "they were offensive to their friends, and a rejoicing both "to the common enemy, the Papists, and to their private "ill-willers." What answer the Vice-Chancellor and Heads returned to the Archbishop, we shall see in the process of our story.

Saravia's judgment of the retractation.

So that the Archbishop had maturely considered with himself the points enjoined to be acknowledged in this retractation; and had consulted also with the learned men about him. And among the rest with Dr. Saravia, who was oftentimes at Lambeth; and very likely was there now. Who gave his judgment at large hereof in Latin, with no more approbation than the Archbishop had done: and who, I make no doubt, was one of the many *sound and learned* Divines of this Church, that his Grace made mention of before in his letter. Which learned man had drawn up his thoughts in writing, done, I conclude, at the Archbishop's desire; and began in this tenor:

Palinodia Mri. Bareti, &c. "That Baret's recantation 442
"was so far liked by him, in that he had peevishly abused

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" the names of learned men. But that he disproved a *se-*
" *curity* of salvation; and that the temporary faith of some
" did nothing differ from justifying faith, in his judgment
" he was not commanded rightly to revoke that. Unless
" perhaps he understood all temporary and historical faith
" differed nothing from justifying faith. That in the first
" article he wished that *certus* had been put for *securus*.
" That there was very great difference between *security*
" and *certainty*. And in the end, where it is read *certus*
" *esse et securus*, he wished *securus* were blotted out. That
" in the second article, instead of the *faith of every single*
" *believer*, he wished it had been put, the *faith of every*
" *single elect*. Because not all that truly believe are *elect:*
" and that the faith of some that truly believe may fail,
" but not of such as are *elect*. The third article he did not
" sufficiently understand: that every security of final per-
" severance was not to be commended. That sometimes
" it might come to pass, that it would not be without ar-
" rogance. That although so long any one might be cer-
" tain of salvation, as long as he believeth, yet it behoved
" him that believeth to be solicitous as well of the argu-
" ment of faith as of perseverance: in that he [Baret] had
" said, that he did ingenuously profess faith true and jus-
" tifying; but it was not but in the elect. Of the fourth
" article he [Saravia] said, that if Bernard said in the whole,
" that all temporary faith was feigned, it was an error:
" that sometimes in some it was true, but not always, nor
" in all. That in the fifth article, he did not apprehend in
" the petition of remission of sins, in what sense we are
" said there rather to pray for the gift of faith, or the in-
" crease of it, than in the other petitions. For when we
" ask that our sins may be forgiven us, we ask it absolute-
" ly; because we believe God for Christ's sake remitteth
" sins to the penitent. The remission of sins is not given
" but to them that ask in faith, that their sins may be re-
" mitted to them, and that call upon the name of the Lord.
" For faith goes before calling upon the name of God, and
" praying for the remission of sins. That in the sixth ar-

" ticle it was not handled well, that sin is the true, proper, CHAP. XIV.
" and first cause of reprobation. That which is alleged out
" of Augustin to Simplician is not found there: but plainly Anno 1595.
" the contrary. And then Saravia proceeded largely to give
" his reasons and arguments, upon which he gave this cen-
" sure of the recantation." For which I refer the reader to
the Appendix. N°. XXIV.

CHAP. XV. 443

Baret's petitions to the Archbishop, to declare the true doctrine in these points. The Heads decline the Archbishop's judging of Baret's business. Justify their own proceedings. Their letter to the Archbishop. The true doctrine stated by them, in a paper sent to the Archbishop. The Archbishop's second letter to the Heads. The Archbishop sends for Dr. Some, about a sermon of his. His letter on that occasion to the Heads. The Heads' third letter to the Archbishop. And Dr. Whitaker's to him in favour of the Heads. The Archbishop acquaints the Lord Treasurer of the matter between the Heads and him. Their Petitions to the Archbishop to take order that no doctrines be vented tending to innovation. And their reasons.

THOUGH this business of Baret hath taken up already somewhat a larger share in our history, yet it being so material a point of controversy, which exercised the learned of this Church many years after; and also wherein our Archbishop himself was so much concerned, and shewed so much spirit and conduct, learning, and what his own judgment was in some of the articles contested: I shall therefore go on with my account of the matter; especially being hitherto so imperfectly told by our authors in print.

Baret having (as appears) some countenance from the Archbishop, made (besides his former address) some peti- Baret's petitions to the Archbishop.

BOOK IV.

tions unto him in his own behalf, and for the better adjusting the truth of these deep doctrines. As, "That it might
Anno 1595. "please his Grace to grant his honourable letters unto the "Masters of colleges, for stay of their further proceedings "in these causes, whereof the most of them were the chief "adverse parties. His humble suit unto his Grace was "further, that whereas the whole body of the University "did desire to be informed by his Grace about the truth "of these things, his Grace being he whom they ought "and were willing to hear in this cause; and that he him-"self was ready, as his duty was, to be reformed by his "Grace, either for the manner, if any thing had passed him "rashly; or for the matter, if any thing untruly; that it "might therefore please his Grace to grant a letter decla-"ratory unto the University, whether he had impugned "the doctrine of the Church in this land; or otherwise, as "it should seem convenient unto his Grace's wisdom. And "that this letter of his Grace's might be openly read at a "*concio ad clerum*. That so they who greatly desired it "might be satisfied concerning the truth; and the rest not "perverted by the untrue preaching of this point by Dr. "Some and some others.

"And that whereas this year was the time of his com-"mencement, and these acts he had done for his degree, "he referred himself unto his Grace's direction; whether "he thought it convenient he should proceed this year or "no. Lastly, whereas he was advertised by one of the chief "in the University, that these Doctors, his adversaries in "this cause, purposed to remove him out of the University "by some means or other, which if they could accomplish, "they cared not if it were by some inconvenience to them-"selves: that in this therefore, as his duty was, he refer-"red himself to be disposed of as it should seem best unto "his Grace's wisdom. Herein committing himself unto "his Grace, as unto a gracious protector, he daily prayed "for the increase of his Grace in all felicity. Subscribing "himself, His Grace's most bound and daily beadsman, "W. Baret."

This modest motion of Baret, appealing from those Heads, his adversaries, and referring the decision of these controverted doctrines unto the Archbishop's judgment and moderation, engaged his Grace more nearly in the quarrel. For the Heads, upon pretence of their University privileges, had declined to submit to the Archbishop, or to follow his advice, in judging or determining differences about true or false doctrines in such as were of their body; and permitting none else to interfere or meddle in their affairs. Which the Archbishop looked upon as an abridging his jurisdiction, not only as being proper visitor in the vacation of the bishopric of Ely, in which diocese they were, but being also chief of the commission ecclesiastical, from which there was no exemption. This was that they gave the Archbishop to understand, by the answer they gave him to Dr. Clayton's message, which he had brought to them from his Grace; as we have related before. This occasioned two or three letters more from the Archbishop, insisting chiefly upon his own authority; and withal, shewing how unkindly they had dealt with him, who bore them such a paternal affection, as they had sufficient experience of.

Anno 1595.

444

The Heads decline the Archbishop's interposing in this business.

But the better to see the sense of these Heads, and their behaviour towards the Archbishop, in regard of his message to them, the said Dr. Clayton, by a letter to his Grace, dated July 7, acquainted him with the success of it, to this tenor: "That he was in good hope, upon the signification of his "Grace's good pleasure unto the Heads, to have seen a "good end of these late troubles, now daily increasing in "their University. And to that purpose, that he had con- "tinually, as occasion had been offered, dealt with the "Heads, as effectually as he could, both privately and in "the Consistory. But now he perceived it was but lost "labour. For although they all, in goodly words and fair "speeches, as appeared by their letter, professed their en- "tire affection towards his Grace, (as he told him,) yet, "notwithstanding whatsoever they said, they were all most "resolute in this, still to proceed in their former cause;

An account given the Archbishop by Dr. Clayton of his message to them.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" and that most peremptorily taking upon them to justify " all their former proceedings, in all parts, both for the " manner thereof, and that whole doctrine in the retracta- " tion. And that in all these matters they would be their " own judges immediately under her Majesty; and in no " case acknowledge any authority his Grace (as he further " told him) had any way in these causes over them: either " to determine what the doctrine was of the Church of " England, or otherwise howsoever. But stood perempto- " rily upon their privileges; which they took to be a suffi- " cient warrant for all their dealings: and were resolute for " the maintenance thereof. As his Grace, he said, might " perceive by their letter, [which will follow,] wherein they " wholly laboured to justify all their whole proceedings."

He added, that they were very desirous, at the writing of their letter to his Grace, (which was indited by Dr. Goad, Dr. Some, Dr. Tyndal, and Dr. Whitaker,) to have had either the instructions which his Grace had committed unto him, [mentioned above,] or else a copy of the same: pretending, that thereby they might answer his Grace more fully. But he told them, that he had acquainted them with his Grace's pleasure; which they knew well enough: and therefore for that they should pardon him.

Baret revokes his retractation.

The letter of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads (above spoken of) sent to the Archbishop, both excusing and justifying themselves, I shall set down, after I have observed, how the countenance that it seems Baret met withal at London and Lambeth made him so confident, that soon after, at Cambridge, he revoked what he had retracted a little before. So that he still, not only before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, (as he did July 2,) but in his ordinary conversation, insisted upon his former assertions as true: giving out that his recantation was no recantation; and that he did nothing but read a paper made by others; and that it was not of his own accord. And therefore the Heads had required further censure to be inflicted on him: urging, that his cause would admit of no defence; as taking away all ties of oaths, subscriptions, and confessions: as

Dr. Whitaker signified to the Archbishop, in an address he made to him on this occasion. CHAP. XV.

Now what the Heads answer to the Archbishop, not well pleased with them, (as we heard before,) will be more fully understood by their own letter, which bore the same date with Dr. Clayton's above specified, *viz.* July 7. The tenor whereof was this: "That they were right sorry his Lord- "ship had conceived some hard thoughts, both of the "course and manner of their proceedings against Mr. Ba- "ret, as they had lately again understood by Dr. Clayton's "message and report, delivered unto them from his Grace. "And that so much the more was their grief, by how much "they were privy to themselves, both of their dutiful care "and orderly carriage in the cause; and also of such par- "ticular reverend affection to his Grace, in every of them, "as had not been at any time before the like, from the "Vice-Chancellor and Heads, to any his Lordship's prede- "cessors in that place: and again, were persuaded of his "Grace's honourable care and love towards them and the "places they had charge of. Which offence conceived, as "they did impute rather to the sinister report of Mr. Baret "and his favourers, than to his Lordship's own disposition; "so they did not doubt, upon his Grace's more deep con- "sideration of the causes, both to approve to his Lordship "their doings therein, and consequently to clear and sa- "tisfy the grievance conceived.

Anno 1595. 445

The Heads to the Archbishop, vindicating themselves to him.

"That as touching the cause itself, for the avoiding te- "diousness in their letter, they had in a schedule inclosed "set down a brief note, both of the truth of doctrine pub- "licly and generally received, and of the contrary errors "taught by Mr. Barret: and also another note of some "particular circumstances of the lawful and orderly man- "ner of their proceeding. Which proceeding in such cases, "being warranted by their statutes, privileges, charters, "usual custom, and practice, (all which they thought his "Grace might well remember,) if any should call into ques- "tion or seek to infringe, they persuaded themselves, that "as they by their oaths to the University were bound to

They send their manner of proceeding against Barret.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" their power to maintain, so his Lordship would be with " others an honourable patron of their privileges and local " jurisdiction.

" That therefore, as they were and had been careful to " maintain the peace of the Church, both publicly in the " University, and privately in their several colleges: where- " by for these late years past there had been no contrary " opposition made, or question moved; howsoever they " were in the advertisement brought by Dr. Clayton other- " wise charged in that behalf: so now their very humble " suit to his Grace was, that in consideration of the cause " itself, their manner of proceeding, their loving duties to " the University and to his Lordship, their care of govern- " ment there, and the peace of the Church; it would please " the same to have that regard of that government and of " them, in respect of their places there, as appertained: " and that such a bold, corrupt, and unlearned young fel- " low might not in a sort conceive encouragement in his " bad course, (having there kindled a fire like to grow to " the disturbance also of the whole Church, if it were not " speedily met withal, and to the break-neck and confusion " of good order and discipline in that University,) by his " seeking sinister means to make head against the Vice- " Chancellor and his assistants. But that according to their " honourable Chancellor's allowance of what was done, and " direction and reference to their statutes, he might (with " his Lordship's good favour) be further there proceeded " against, as the nature and quality of his fault required. " And so with their humble and dutiful prayers, they took " their leave. From Cambridge, July 7, 1595. His Grace's " humble to be commanded, John Duport, Vice-Chancel- " lor." Signed also by Goad, Some, Tyndal, Whitaker, Barwel, Jegon, Chaderton.

Their suit to him.

What answer the Archbishop gave to this stiff letter we shall see by and by. But to understand the better their vindication of themselves, it is necessary to lay before the reader their papers mentioned to be inclosed in their letter. That the Archbishop therefore might have the whole mat-

ter before him, to pass the sounder judgment on what the Heads had inflicted upon this man, they shewed him in writing the cause and matter of this controversy arisen in Cambridge: first, in laying down the true doctrine in matter of the substance of religion; and afterwards giving account of the errors held and delivered by Baret, contrary thereunto. The true doctrines, as they were stated by them, consisted in six points. The first was, That he who hath a true justifying faith remaineth not in a continual wavering and doubtfulness, but is assured of his salvation: and that by the ground and certainty of that justifying faith. Because by that faith only we apprehend and apply Christ to ourselves. Whereby we have peace with God: and consequently a certainty and spiritual security. Which terms for the kind of security is not only by some late writers and preachers, but by ancient and Catholic Doctors of the Church, so used. 2. That Christ prayed not only for Peter, as in respect of any privilege to Peter, or for the rest of the Apostles, alone; but for all those that should believe in Christ. 3. That true justifying faith, whereby we are ingrafted into Christ, is so fixed, and certain to continue, that it never can be utterly lost or extinguished in them which have the true justifying faith. 4. That there are divers kinds of faith; but there is but only one true justifying faith. 5. That all and every one that hath a true justifying faith thereby may and might assure himself, not only that sins are remitted to the true believers in general, but much more to his comfort, that his own particular sins are, through the same faith in Christ, forgiven him. 6. That in the execution of God's decree there is always respect to sin; and the cause of damnation is in the wicked themselves. But in predestination itself, there is no respect or cause either of holiness in the elect, or of sin in the reprobate; but it dependeth wholly on the mere will and good pleasure of God.

Anno 1595. Cod. MS. Coll. S. Trin. ubi supra. 446

The true doctrine in six points.

"This doctrine (they added) being not about inferior "points of matters in difference, but of the substantial "grounds, and chief comfort, and anchor-hold of our sal-

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" vation, had been, to their knowledge, continually and " generally received, taught, and defended in that Univer- " sity, in lectures, disputations, and sermons: and in other " places, in sermons, since the beginning of her Majesty's " reign: and so still holden, as they took it, agreeable to " the doctrine of the Church of England." To which were subscribed the names of the Vice-Chancellor and the other seven Heads mentioned before.

Then in another paper they set down the *cause* and *matter* for which the proceeding was against Baret. Which was conceived under six heads also; *viz. Neminem in hoc fragili mundo tanta firmitate esse suffultum, &c. ut de salute sua debeat esse securus*, &c. As they were mentioned before, and drawn up by some of the Heads to aggravate Baret's errors. " Both publicly taught (as it ran in the " foresaid paper) in his *clerum* sermon, and also by him " afterwards explained and maintained in the Consistory, " before Mr. Vice-Chancellor and the Heads: not by the " way lightly touched in his said sermon, but in the whole " course and tenor of it, the doctrine of *doubtfulness* of " salvation purposely prosecuted; (howsoever he would " now seem to have spoken only against *carnal security*;) " in this manner, *viz.* 1. Places of Scripture for the *doubt-* " *fulness* corruptly alleged. 2. Places for certainty of sal- " vation taken upon him to be answered. 3. Bitter speeches " used against the new writers, for their judgment in the " true doctrine of this certainty.

Chap. xiv.

" These contrary errors never publicly so taught and " maintained in this University, nor elsewhere, since her " Majesty's reign: and still by him professedly and boldly " maintained before Mr. Vice-Chancellor and the Heads, " July 2, 1595, notwithstanding his former retractation in " St. Mary's. Which, he said, he did now revoke; neither " did nor doth think as he spake in that public retracta- " tion."

It was within four days after the Heads had written their letter to the Archbishop in the justification of themselves, and persistance in what they had done, as regular and an-

swerable by their statutes, and excluding the Archbishop's power of interfering in their University affairs; that he gave them this grave and sensible reproof in a reply. Wherein he expressed first, his sincere love to the University, and how well he had deserved of it: and then set before them their ingratitude towards him in their late disrespect that they had shewed him: and what just power he had to check them, both for their taking upon them to determine what doctrines were agreeable to the Church of England; and likewise for their pretences of being exempt from any cognizance of the Queen's Commissioners ecclesiastical. And that it was merely out of respect to their good estate, that he forbore to be a precedent to any of his successors, to deal more hardly with them. He concludeth this matter by shewing them what better and more effectual method he would have taken, instead of that rigorous and unwarrantable one they had used: and promiseth them some resolutions to be sent down from him, for the pacifying of these disputes and controversies. And so in the end gently and obligingly parteth with them. The whole letter deserveth to be read at length; which followeth.

Anno 1595.

447

The Archbishop's answer to the former letter of the Heads.

" *Salutem in Christo.* How careful I have been for the " staying of these late controversies, unadvisedly raised " among you, to the disturbing of the whole Church, let " my letters writ unto you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, and my " private advice and conference with divers of you, being " here with me, testify. How the same hath been re- " garded and followed, the sequel declareth. And therein " you have not borne to me that affection which the Vice- " Chancellor and Heads in my time, and in times past, " have borne to my predecessors in this place. Of whom " not one hath been in any matter less regarded than I " have been in this; nor used, or rather abused, in such " sort. And yet I dare compare with any of them in af- " fection to the University, and to every one of you; and " in carefulness for the preservation of your privileges, and " of any thing else which might in anywise concern that

BOOK IV. Anno 1595.

"body. For what have I done hitherto either in this "or any other cause, but in private to yourselves by way "of advertisement? And even that statute which you do "now so much urge and rely upon, was procured espe- "cially by my labour and means.

"My predecessor, Archbishop Parker, did, by virtue of "the commission for causes ecclesiastical, deal with divers "in that University, as it is well known to some that are "now Heads among you. I myself with others have sat "as Commissioners ecclesiastical sundry times in St. Ma- "ry's, as it is notoriously known: and that by authority "censured, in matters of religion, as well scholars as "others. And who well-advised can or dare doubt, whe- "ther her Majesty, by the laws of this realm, or by her "prerogative royal, may grant such a commission or no? "None but undutiful subjects. It is a most vain conceit "to think, that you have authority in matters of contro- "versy, to judge what is agreeable to the doctrine of the "Church of England; what not. The law expressly lay- "ing that upon her Majesty, and upon such as she shall "by commission appoint to that purpose. And how far "my authority under her Highness reacheth therein, I "hope you will not give me occasion to try.

"I know my affection towards the University: but I "know not how they may be affected that shall succeed "me. Which hath caused me hitherto to forbear pro- "ceeding in divers things concerning you. And therefore "it is wisdom in you to use me as a friend, and to esteem "my advice, and not to put me to the trial of my author- "ity. Which if you shall do, as I hope you will not, I "am assured that the repentance will be yours.

"I am not so light of credit as to believe Mr. Baret in "his own cause. And you do me wrong so to charge me. "Your own proceedings and doings have drawn me into "this dislike, wherein I am not as yet by your letters sa- "tisfied. Baret is a man scarce known to me. His man- "ner of dealing, and giving occasion of these questions, I "do utterly condemn: and if I had had in time knowledge

" thereof, I would have joined with you in punishing of " him to the uttermost in such sort as the quality of the " offence requireth. As I will likewise in punishing of any " other that shall continue these controversies, either on " the one side or on the other: which I would have made " known unto them, and do by all the authority I have, or " credit with you, require: and pray you to take care, " that hereafter the pulpit, nor any other public places, be " used in these controversies; until such time as you shall " receive some resolutions from hence in these causes: " which had been ere this, if your hasty proceedings had " not ministered occasion to the contrary. You must bear " with me, though at this time I omit many things which 448
" require answer, in respect of my business and lack of " time: not being willing to keep your messenger longer " than is convenient. And if I speak or write somewhat " earnestly, remember, that *meliora sunt vulnera diligentis*, " *quam fraudulenta oscula odientis*, &c. And so with my " hearty commendations I commit you, &c.

" Your assured loving friend, as he is used."

Anno 1595.

I must not omit, that in the midst of these broils in the University, and these resistances of some Heads there made to the Archbishop, another thing was done by one of the chief of these stickling Heads, that at this time somewhat provoked our Prelate: namely, a sermon publicly preached by Dr. Some. Who was a zealous man in these deep controverted points, and had endeavoured to confute Dr. Baro, the Lady Margaret Professor, as it seems, and to prove that *faith where it is once, never faileth*. But his sermon was delivered in such a manner, and contained such assertions, as the Archbishop hearing of thought fit to send for him to appear before him. Where the Archbishop (some few others being present) reasoned friendly with him about some of the points by him delivered; and gently reproved him, and so sent him back. But the angry man took occasion soon after in another sermon to make unhandsome reflections upon the Archbishop,

Dr. Somes in his sermon reflects upon the Archbishop and commission.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

and upon his usage of him. His text, it seems, was out of Acts iv. 5, &c.—*Their rulers, and elders, and scribes, and Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, and JOHN, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest, were gathered together at Jerusalem. And when they had set them in the midst, they asked, By what power, or by what name, have ye done this?* Turning all this unto the Archbishop, (that bore one of these names,) and the rest of the high commission: comparing them unto these Jewish persecutors; and those that were convented before them, to Peter and John, the preachers of Christ and his doctrine.

Which the Archbishop resents.

This soon came to the Archbishop's ears, and in his foresaid letter to the Heads, took notice of, as well he might: "That he could not forget, neither would they "forget it, (if they writ to him as they thought, touching "their affection towards him, as he was persuaded they "did,) that is, Dr. Some's intemperate and indiscreet ser- "mon: whereunto on purpose he intruded himself, as the "Archbishop said he was informed. Which, as he added, "if they [the Heads] neglected, others would not. How "he [Some] was used, being there [with the Archbishop "at Lambeth] some could tell: and likewise how he be- "haved himself; specially at his departure. That he was "not called for before any Commissioners, as he seemed "to insinuate, but in friendly sort reasoned with by him- "self [the Archbishop] and some one or two others, not "one else being present. What should move him, asked "the Archbishop, first to take that text, and then to "wander upon it, and in that sort to mention Annas, Caia- "phas, John, and Alexander, and all the rabble of the "commission about the high priest, with the words fol- "lowing? Whereupon that advantage might be taken, as "he would hardly be able to endure. He proceeded, that "if they marked that statute well which he so greatly "urged, they should find him within the compass thereof. "That such unkind, uncivil, and childish kind of dealing "(for, he said, he would term it no worse) was to be cor-

" rected. That for his own part he pitied him, knowing " with what humour he was carried, and what cause did " especially at that time drive him into these passions. " But he hoped they would take care of this matter; other- " wise it would not be forgotten."

Dr. Some and Dr. Baro differ in a point of faith.

This sprung from the former doctrines of Baret: one whereof was, of the *indefectibility* of faith. Wherein, it seems, Dr. Some had jarred with Dr. Baro: who was with the Heads in the Consistory: and being requested by the Vice-Chancellor to deliver his opinion of these matters now in question, (perhaps to ensnare him,) after he had signified some just causes of his grief, [I do but transcribe out of Dr. Clayton's letter to the Archbishop,] and how he desired this heretofore; it was thought good to the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads first to handle the question of *faith*, whether it may be lost *penitus;* Dr. Baro agreed unto the same; and offered to confute, by writing, Master Dr. Some's printed position of this matter. But that would not be granted him, but to set down only his opin- 449 ion of that matter. For Dr. Some and some others thought the former request not reasonable: and so the matter rested.

The Heads answer the Archbishop's last letter.

The Heads, July 16, Dr. Duport still Vice-Chancellor, gave the Archbishop another letter in answer to his. And therein they insist, as modestly as they could, upon their formerly mentioned privilege, of taking cognizance of doctrines preached or vented among themselves. And the other part of their letter referred to what the Archbishop had said of the misbehaviour of Dr. Some. The substance of their letter was as followeth: " After their duties hum- " bly remembered unto his Grace; they declared themselves " very sorry that his Grace remained yet unsatisfied. That " their great desire and care was, by all the good means " they could, to endeavour how they might offer better " satisfaction to so ancient and honourable a friend to the " University. And that they might the better perform it, " as appertained, they humbly prayed, that in regard of the " absence of divers of their company, and to the end they

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" might the more duly have search made of their privileges " and charters, (as now they had determined,) and there- " upon the same to be shewed to his Lordship, and ac- " cording to the validity thereof, the issue and end the one " way or the other to follow, (if his Grace should so think " good,) it would please his Grace to give them some con- " venient respite.

They took not upon them to determine doctrines.

" That in the mean time, for that as it seemed unto them " the principal occasion of his Grace's mislike of them was, " in that they should take upon them to determine matters " of religion, doubtful and questionable, and what in such " cases was agreeable to the doctrine of the Church of " England, and what was not, the law providing otherwise " in that behalf; therefore they humbly besought his Grace " in few words to permit them to interpret and make plain " their meaning: which was not by their own authority to " determine in such cases, but only to signify their care; " and to testify their own opinions, for the defence and " preservation of that truth of doctrine in some substantial " points; which had been always in their memories, both " there and elsewhere, taught, professed, and continued; " and never openly impugned among them, but by some " persons of late. Much less was it their intent or thought " to call into question any part of her Majesty's authority. " As, they added, might appear by the words in their late " letter to his Grace, and in the schedule therein contained; " that they had no further meaning, howsoever they had " been taken. And so they prayed his Grace to conceive " of them.

Their favourable account of Dr. Some's sermon.

" Now touching Dr. Some, particularly mentioned in his " Grace's letter unto them, (upon some information given,) " they gave him this account: That thus much they were " able to say for truth, that he did not intrude himself " into the place, but was earnestly by Mr. Vice-Chancellor " requested to supply the defect that otherwise should " have been at that time. And that for the special point " in his sermon complained of; for which Mr. Barr. also " required Mr. Vice-Chancellor that he might be convented

" before himself and the Heads; (as thereupon he was;) " besides that Mr. Barr. himself refusing then to charge " him, upon opening the matter before them, did in the " end openly acknowledge himself therein satisfied. That " themselves, being present at the sermon, neither did nor " could by his speech conceive or think any such matter, if " they should speak upon their oaths. And that Dr. Some, " for his part, had in their hearing, not only protested his " clearness in thought in that behalf; but offered himself, " by his oath or public declaration in the same place, (if " his Grace should require it,) to testify the contrary. And " so they commended his Grace to the Almighty," &c. Signed by Duport, Vice-Chancellor, Goad, Some, Tyndal, Barwel, Chaderton.

Anno 1595.

Dr. Whitaker writes to the Archbishop in favour of the Heads.

During the differences between the Archbishop and the Heads, upon the occasion of their proceeding with Barret, Dr. Whitaker writ a smooth letter (as it were privately) to his Grace, to avert his displeasure, and to speak a word in season for what they had done; since (as he urged) they could not otherwise have justified the trust reposed in them, for the good government of the University, and for the maintaining a due dependance of the inferior members of the University upon the Heads. And that necessary it was to check such dangerous doctrines, that they might 450 spread no further. And that if the doctrines Barret preached were not against the article, yet they were against what had been received publicly, and maintained in all disputations, sermons, and lectures: and that though the points were not concluded and defined by public authority, yet that they had hitherto been held in the Church. And that for the certainty of faith, &c. they had the Scriptures, the Fathers, the Schoolmen, on their side. And in fine, praying his Grace not to call in question the privileges of the University for the sake of such a person as Barret was. I refer the reader to his whole letter, reposited in the Appendix. N°. XXV.

The Heads in this juncture, the better both to arm them-

BOOK IV.

selves against the Archbishop, and also to recover his favour, had timely applied themselves to their High Chancellor, the Lord Burghley, to shield them from the Archbishop. Their message to him importing, that Barret's cause was not to be withdrawn from them; and insisting upon their privileges, as their statutes, as they pretended, bore them out. And to that purport Dr. Some had brought letters from the Heads to the said Chancellor: which the said Chancellor communicated unto the Archbishop.

Anno 1595.

The Heads apply to their Chancellor in Barret's business, against the Archbishop.

Whereof the Archbishop took notice, in a letter to him soon afterwards directed: expressing his mind therein to the said Lord to this tenor: "That Dr. Some of late had "brought unto him letters from some of the Heads of the "University of Cambridge, signifying their proceedings "against one Barret of the University, for uttering, in a "sermon *ad clerum*, certain points of doctrine by them "misliked. Which letter he [the said Lord] had shewed "him. And that after perusal thereof, he [the Archbishop] "had signified unto him, that some of the points where-"with they had charged him, and which they had caused "him to recant, without either his Lordship's knowledge "or his, [the Archbishop's,] were such as the best learned "Protestants, then living, varied in judgment upon. And "that he, for his part, did think they had done unadvisedly "therein. That his Lordship thereupon said, that he would "write to have the matters referred hither. But that after-"wards, by Dr. Some's persuasion, that it was against their "privileges, he [the said Lord] took another course; and "writ to the Heads, that they should further proceed "against Barret as they thought good.

Which occasions the Archbishop to write his mind to the Chancellor.

"That for his part, he never thought to infringe any "privilege of that University, but had studied more in de-"fence thereof than any there remaining. That the sta-"tute which they then alleged had been procured by his "means to his Lordship. And therefore he had good cause "to know the meaning thereof. That in this cause he had "only dealt with them by persuasion and advice, in re-

" spect of the peace of the Church, and for the avoiding " of new controversies. But that they had not regarded " him therein.

" His request therefore to his Lordship at this time only " was, that he would write unto them, to forbear any fur- " ther dealing in these causes until his Lordship were fur- " ther informed therein; and until the state of the contro- " versy were made better known unto him. That in so " doing his Lordship should stay many questions and con- " troversies, which would otherwise be moved. For he " could assure him, as he added, that the most ancient and " best Divines in this land, with whom he had conferred, " whereof the Archbishop of York was one, were, in the " chiefest points in opinion, against their resolutions. That " of this stay there could come no harm. But that his " Lordship had need to write with some speed, lest his " letters came too late. And that in a matter of such im- " portance, it was good reason he should at the least be " consulted with before the conclusion."

The Heads petition the Archbishop for the appeasing of their troubles.

So Barret's business came not on again till September following. And both the Archbishop and the University Heads accorded then in another examination of him and his doctrine. But before this, in the mean time, the said Heads, in more submission, (and, as it seems, by their Chancellor's order,) now came to petition his Grace, to the purport and tenor following:

" Our humble suit to your Grace, in the name of all the " Heads of colleges, and whole body of the University of " Cambridge, some few excepted, is, for the appeasing of " the troubles and controversies begun, and recovering our " former happy, peaceable agreement, and preventing like 451
" occasions hereafter, which we have just and evident cause " to fear, if these be not duly and speedily repressed; that " strait order may be taken, that no man presume, in ser- " mon, lecture, disputation, or other public exercise, to " maintain any opinion tending to innovation: and that " these points, now in question, may be held as ever they " have been heretofore in the University, since her Majes-

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" ty's most Christian government. And that we may freely, " and without offence, *pascere, ut ante, greges*, and not be " constrained to admit contrary doctrines. Provided al- " ways, that no bitterness, contention, or personal reproofs " or reproaches, be used by any in the handling thereof. " And all governors do promise their best endeavours to " establish a loving and brotherly unity; and to abandon " from among us all quarreling and new occasions of re- " viving these troubles." And then they subjoined a schedule thus entitled:

The Reasons of this our most humble Suit and Desire.

" I. First, We are persuaded, that in these questions of " controversy, not only the undoubted truth of God's word, " but the doctrine of our Church, by continuance of prac- " tice and custom confirmed, and by authority established, " is now by this opposition of some impugned. And we " shall be ready, if cause require, in most humble manner " to deliver our reasons in both these.

" II. Seeing it is impossible that any firm peace should " remain among us, until this public difference and contra- " diction be removed; (and therefore is necessary that the " one sort be enjoined silence;) we think it agreeable to " godly wisdom, that the opinions newly broached among " us, within these two years, being the matter and subject " of this dissension, be controlled and silenced: and not " that the doctrine which hath thus long, with general " approbation and great comfort, been preached, be now " disgraced.

" III. It is a matter of no difficulty to stay the attempts " of all those that are disposed to dissent; being but few " in comparison, and not wilful, we hope. And if any shall " after warning wilfully offend, he may be soon restrained.

" IV. To forbid Preachers, Readers, and all Divines, to " deal in these causes; as others have always done hereto- " fore: and to punish them, if they will not obey. And by " this means to bring in either an alteration of doctrine in " these points, or an universal silence therein, we take to

" be not only a hard matter, but altogether impossible. " For if this doctrine be now unlawful, why hath it been " used all this while? Or how should we punish those that " hold other new opinions than our ancestors held, and we " ourselves have oftentimes publicly professed, and do in " judgment still hold and believe?

" V. If the doctrine that hath always since the Reformation been received and allowed, begin now in these " points, not only to be brought into question, but by authority either changed as untrue, or suppressed as dangerous or unprofitable; what may the Papists think of " the whole substance of our religion! And what a grievous offence will this be, not only to malicious enemies, " but also to weak professors, as already experience hath " in many places shewn!

" VI. We are assured, and make no manner of doubt, if " your Grace will afford your good liking and high authority, to the maintenance of this convenient, godly, and " necessary course, there will presently ensue as great peace " and concord, as hath been heretofore. Otherwise we do " not see how this can be hoped for: always submitting " ourselves to your Grace, and to the reverend and learned " Bishops of the realm, our privileges only saved: which " it hath pleased your Grace to assure us, by your late honourable letters, you have no intention any ways to infringe.

" Secondly, For Mr. Barret, as Christian charity bindeth " us to seek his conversion and reformation, which we have " done by all good means; so our duty to God and the " truth, and our Church and University, enforce us to call " him further to account for his offensive sermon and more " offensive recantation; and at sundry times since, for his " irreverent and contemptuous behaviour, when he was " called before the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads. Where- " in we humbly beseech your Grace, that your great and 452
" supereminent authority may concur with the government " of this place. So shall unity be preserved, and manifold " inconveniences removed.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" Mr. Barret, in his sermon *ad clerum*, delivered many " and manifest untruths, boldly, earnestly, and as it were " triumphingly, and in manner of challenge: contrary to " the doctrine of our Church set down in the book of Ar- " ticles, in the Apology of the Church of England, and in " Defence of the same, in Catechisms commanded by author- " ity to be used, and in the Book of Common Prayer.

" Your Grace have seen the articles and principal heads " of the sermon; and have required his further declaration " and resolution therein. In which answer of his he hath " yet more plainly bewrayed his unsoundness, both in the " former points, and in others also. Our desire therefore " in duty is, that he may be brought to further necessary " public satisfaction, for his public, grievous, unsufferable " offence; and make such retractation of his errors, in such " form as we have framed now, or else [some other as] " shall please your Grace better. Otherwise, not only the " truth shall be injured, and Papists and other adversaries " encouraged, but the government of the Vice-Chancellor " and his assistants, most necessary in this place, shall be " wounded and sore weakened."

CHAP. XVI.

Barret examined upon articles of doctrine, by the Archbishop's order. His answers. Whitaker's animadversions thereupon; and of the Heads, in a letter to the Archbishop. The Archbishop gives his judgment of both. His resolution about these matters. Barret's second examination at Lambeth. His confession. A favourable retractation for him to make at Cambridge. Which he delayeth to do. The Archbishop draws up a recapitulation of Barret's business.

Barret examined about his opinions by

BY this it appears, that the Archbishop had sometime before required Barret's further declaration and resolution: and that in some articles whereupon he was to be ex-

amined by the Archbishop's order to Dr. Whitaker. The questions to which he was to answer were nicely propounded, and suited critically to the principles of Whitaker and the rest of the Heads, in those points of doctrine. So that if Barret came not up in his answers to them, he lay at their mercy, without the especial favour of the Archbishop interposed on his behalf. Now the questions, eight in number, were as follow:

Anno 1595. the Archbishop's order.

I. *Utrum Christus pro Petro solo precatus sit, ne ei fides deficeret*, &c. *i. e.* Whether Christ prayed for Peter only, that his faith should not fail; or also for all the elect, that they fall not away from faith and salvation, either *finally*, or for a time *totally*.

On several questions. Cod. MSS. Col. S. Trin. Cantabr.

II. Whether justifying faith is not in reality distinct and diverse from an hypocritical, feigned, and dead faith.

III. Whether justifying faith doth not make us certain of our election and adoption, and persuade, without all doubt, that we shall be saved.

IV. Whether any godly and faithful Christian ought not to believe the remission of his sins.

V. Whether it was an extraordinary and private revelation, concerning which St. Paul maketh mention, Rom. viii. 38. *I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, &c. shall be able to separate us from the love of God*, &c.

VI. Whether God from eternity hath predestinated cer- 453
tain men to life; and reprobated certain. And why?

VII. Whether he doth not acknowledge it a fault, in that he inveighed so bitterly and contumeliously against those excellent men, Peter Martyr, John Calvin, Theodore Beza, Hierom, Zanchius.

VIII. Whether he made a retractation in St. Mary's church the 10th of May, and will stand to it, or not: and how far? Thus hardly was Barret now put to it, either to answer these questions just according to the *placits* of some Divines, or else endanger his preferment, and all he had in the University.

But he gave distinct answers in Latin to each point. Which were soon sent to Cambridge from his Grace by

Barret's answers.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

Dr. Whitaker. I omit them here for brevity sake. They may be read in the MS. I make use of, by those that have a mind. To the three last he wrote these answers. To the sixth article he answered only in these words, *Affirmativè, et quia voluit.* To the seventh, "I acknowledge the learning of these men; and therefore I said nothing personally of them: but because they brought in some errors into the Church of God, and defended them, being brought in; therefore I, a student of true and catholic doctrine, and doing the office of a Preacher, the reason of my office required that I should confute them. And therefore I produced some things against Joh. Calvin and Theodore Beza, and touched them by name: but against the rest nothing at all. If those things which I said seemed too bitter, and were an occasion of scandal to any pious and truly religious, I repent me that I traduced them." To the eighth article he thus answered; "According to the decree of the Heads, I recited word for word, in St. Mary's, some words conceived by them, and delivered me by Dr. Some. And I am willing to stand to that retractation, as far as it doth not repugn the foresaid answers. And so I satisfied the decree of the Heads. Yet, however, as I hope, the truth will not for this be evil spoken of."

Submits his opinion to the Archbishop and Bishops.

And then he concludes his paper modestly enough, with a reference of himself and his opinions to the spiritual guides of the Church, in these words: "Whether this my opinion be true or false, let it be left to the judgment of my Lord Archbishop, and the rest of the Bishops of the Church. But if it shall not seem so, I will not pertinaciously defend; but, as becomes me, I will yield myself compliant and obedient. And this also is according to my opinion."

Dr. Whitaker, being very zealous in these doctrines, and likewise Public Professor of Divinity, and in good acceptance with the Archbishop, was chiefly employed in the management of this business against Barret. In the Trinity college MS. there is this Doctor's answer in Latin to

Barret's errors, taken out of his sermon preached *ad clerum* in the beginning of the term after Easter; mentioned before, as opposing therein the doctrine of the Church publicly approved. He now again, in the name of the University, replieth to Barret's answers to the eight questions put to him, as above was shewn. And the reply being thus represented to the Archbishop, with observations and confutations of them, was left to his Grace's consideration and judgment; *viz.* "That the whole tenor of his answers was "not only indirect and insufficient, but for the most part "Popish also. That to the first interrogatory he answered "not, Whether Christ prayed only for Peter, that his faith "should not fail; yea, or no. And that he could not by "any means be brought to make a direct answer thereto. "But discoursed upon the place, Luke xxii. 32; alleging "such places out of the Fathers as might seem to make "most for the supremacy of St. Peter; and that were "wholly alleged by the Papists for that purpose: although, "as they writ, they proved nothing less. And that so for "any part of his answer, he might hold that our Saviour "Christ prayed indeed for St. Peter, that his faith should "not fail; just as Papists do. That to the second branch "of this article he answered nothing.

Anno 1595.

Whitaker's observations upon the foresaid answers laid before the Archbishop.

"That to the second he answered so as might justly be "thought, that he misliked the doctrine of justification by "faith, approved in the book of Articles; and the distinc- "tion [he made] of *fides formata* was Popish, and not only "against the Scripture, but the book of Articles also: "teaching that good works are the fruit of faith, and so 454
"must be the formal cause thereof. That to the third he "answered not in form: but that a man might be assured "of his salvation by certainty of faith, he denied. To the "fourth he answered, as though remission of our sins de- "pended upon the performance of penitential acts; and "made such an exposition of the article, *credo remissionem* "*peccatorum*, as never was made by any learned and ca- "tholic writer. That is, not that a man may believe re- "mission of his sins, but that Christ hath given to his

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" Church a power: so that the sins of this man, and that " man, and every particular man, truly repenting, may be " forgiven. Which was far, they said, from the meaning of " that article. To the fifth he answered so, that his opinion " might appear to be, that Paul was not assured of his sal- " vation, but by private and extraordinary revelation. To " the sixth his answer was direct. That to the seventh he " answered so, as he acknowledged no fault in railing " against most worthy men: and that he denied he spake " personally of them, when he named them in most con- " tumelious manner. To the eighth he answered doubt- " fully, saying, that indeed he read certain words, con- " ceived and delivered him by others. And that so he sa- " tisfied the decree of the Heads. But he confessed not, " that he made a recantation; which was demanded." And then they concluded their representation of Barret's answers to the Archbishop with these words; referring this matter to him.

" And so we leave the further judgment of these his an- " swers to your Grace's wisdom: wishing your Grace had " heard his manner of answering, when he was before us " examined upon these articles, and his answers to the " same. Which was on the 12th of September."

The insufficiency of Barret's answer shewn by the Heads to the Archbishop.

Now the Heads, by their submission and humble letters to the Archbishop, seemed to have obtained their purpose: that is, to throw Barret out of the University. For in this month of September they made another address to him: and he complied with them. And Barret we see is now by the Archbishop appointed to be examined by the Heads. And then after he is brought up to Lambeth, to recant again: as appears by this letter of the Vice-Chancellor and Heads to the Archbishop, Sept. 17, importing, " That it " might please his Grace (after their duties in most humble " manner premised) to be advertised, that, according to his " Grace's directions to them by Mr. Dr. Whitaker, they " had examined Mr. Barret according to the articles pre- " sented unto them in his Lordship's name. And that his " answer thereunto they required him to set down in writ-

" ing; which he did: but how insufficiently and indirectly,
" many ways to the purpose, they doubted not but his
" Grace would soon perceive. And they had made bold
" themselves partly to intimate unto him, in a schedule in
" their letter inclosed. And so much the rather; for that,
" do what they could by further conference, to conceive of
" his full and plain meaning in certain of his said particu-
" lars, they could for the most part obtain nothing else
" of him, but either in plain terms that he would not, or
" else that he could not, make any other answer. That
" hereby, besides his intolerable misdemeanor toward the
" magistrate, it might appear how erroneous he was con-
" cerning divers points of the Articles of Religion lawfully
" established. So as they made no doubt but his Grace, in
" his high wisdom, would think it very convenient to have
" some exemplary justice used against him, for the justifi-
" cation of others. And especially at that time, wherein
" they saw by woful experience, how ready men were to
" be brought to broach and spread abroad their own pri-
" vate interpretations and fancies, both without and against
" authority; where they might have the least hope in the
" world, either of impunity, by close dealing, or of protec-
" tion from others, by presumptuous boldness; to the ma-
" nifest danger of the peace of the Church, and the like
" contempt of all good order and discipline. As most no-
" toriously, they said, might appear in the process of this
" cause. Wherein many were now grown to that insolence,
" as they added, that not only here at home, and in the
" country round about them, as they heard, the pulpits
" rung of these novelties and differences; contrary to his
" Grace's express command in that behalf: but also, when
" they were called, to tell him, [the Vice-Chancellor,] he
" had nothing to do to examine them of these points.

" For remedy whereof they were eftsones bold to crave 455
" of his honourable Lordship, that with his Grace's favour
" they might proceed against these men according to their
" local statutes and privileges: being the readiest means,
" as they supposed, both to repress the contempt towards

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" authority, and also to prevent the great mischief that by " this toleration might grow unto the whole Church here- " after. The due consideration whereof, in all duty, they " referred to his Grace's most reverend wisdom. And so " most humbly took their leaves. From Cambridge, the " 17 Sept. 1595. Subscribing, His Grace's most humble " and always ready to be commanded,

" Jo. Duport, Vice-Chancell. Will. Whitaker,
" Umphrey Tyndal, Laur. Chaderton."
" Edm. Barwel.

The Archbishop to the Heads, gives his judgment of Barret's answers.

After all this, the Archbishop, weighing well what the Heads had thus objected to Barret's answers, (with Whitaker's animadversions,) and considering also himself impartially on the other hand those answers, gave his deliberate resolution to both: declaring his own judgment to each particular point. Wherein we may see how far our Archbishop consented with the Heads in these doctrines, and wherein he left them, and approved rather of this scholar's positions. This he did in another letter to the Heads of the colleges, dated Sept. 30. following, running to this tenor; (wishing them first, according to his ordinary salutation, *health in Christ;*) That their letter, dated the 17th, he received not till the 29th, and therefore they might not think much they were no sooner answered. And that he had likewise received, with their letters, Mr. Barret's answer to certain things, whereunto by Mr. Dr. Whitaker's he required the same. That in the perusing thereof he was partly of their minds. For besides that Barret had not answered directly to the first, he thought that divers of his alleged authorities might have been spared, as not answering the question proposed; and taken out of those books, some of the authors whereof were called in question, whether they were theirs or no, &c.

These allegations of Barret were thus offered in his answer, " *Si quæritur de oratione Domini*, Luc. xxii. 32. &c. " If question be made of that speech of our Lord, Luke " xxii. 32, to Simon, *I have prayed for thee, that thy faith*

" *fail not;* the Fathers answer: St. Chrysost. in xxvi. Matth. " Hom. 83. *Simon, behold Satan hath desired this, that he* " *might sift you,* &c. St. Ambros. in Psal. xliii. *Whence it* " *is said to Peter, Simon, behold Satan hath desired* you, " &c. St. Leo, in his anniversary of the Assumption, Serm. " 3. *The danger was common to all the Apostles,* &c. St. " Augustin. in Serm. de Tempore, 124. *He taketh care of* " *the disease of the whole body in the very head of the* " *Church.* Yet elsewhere he seemeth to transfer his speech " to all the Apostles: yet so, because they are contained " under Peter, as under the chief. For so he saith, *As in* " *our Saviour were all the causes of magistracy, so after* " *our Saviour all are contained in Peter,* &c. And as to " what belongeth to this speech, thus he speaketh; *The* " *Lord prayed for Peter. For James and for John* (*that* " *I may say nothing of the rest*) *he prayed not. It is ma-* " *nifest all were contained in Peter.* Which opinion is the " truer, I am not so great, that amongst so great persons " I should determine. The former pleaseth me most: for " the following words, *you, being converted, strengthen* " *your brethren,* seem to denote Peter himself." These were the sentences of the ecclesiastical writers alleged by Barret; and this was his opinion thereof. Now we proceed with the Archbishop's letter.

" But whether that of the xxii. of Luke be meant of Pe- " ter alone, or of the rest of the Apostles also, (for it can- " not be drawn to all the elect,) men might, he said, with- " out impiety, vary in opinion. But that elsewhere (as " namely, in the xvii. of John) Christ prayed for all the " elect, no man could doubt.

" He was also of the same opinion, he said, touching " Barret's doubtful answer to the second; and that dis- " tinction of *formata* and *informis fides.* And for further " satisfaction therein, he wished them to know his opinion " of the doctrine of justification, approved in the book of " Articles, or of any other point by him preached concern- " ing the same, wherein they thought he varied from the " book of Articles.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595. 456

"That his answer to the third question, as he [the Archbishop] said he took it, was direct, that *electi* or *fideles* were *certi de salute*. And that he did not take it, that he denied that *fideles* might be assured of their salvation by the certainty of faith. But that he denied, that they were assured *certitudine fidei, quâ tenent omnipotentiam, unitatem, et sacrosanctam Personarum Trinitatem*, &c. Whereby he expounded what he meant *per certitudinem fidei* in that place. Wherein, said the Archbishop, I do not yet perceive that this opinion doth differ from any article expressed in the forenamed book of Articles; or whether from any other article of religion professed in this Church of England, is questionable. And therefore required further conference of learned men.

"That to the fourth he did altogether mislike his answer. And therefore he wished them to inquire a more direct answer to that question: that is, either affirmative or negative, without any further circumstance."

[That fourth article was about *remission of sins*. To which Barret's answer was, *Unusquisque fidelis*, &c. That every faithful person, if after sin committed he did perform penitential acts, required by God on this behalf, might believe the remission of his sins particularly. And that for that article of the Creed, he thought it of force to this purpose, *viz.* That every one knew, that God out of his great goodness had conferred upon the Church that power of indulgence, that the sins (however most grievous) of this, or that, or any particular man, if so be he be truly penitent, might be remitted.]

"That as for Barret's answer to the fifth article, in part borrowed out of some of the Fathers, and his doubtfulness of his understanding of the viii. to the Romans, the Archbishop said, it was common to him with some others: and that the question was of that nature, that men might answer unto it, *pro et con*, without impiety. And therefore that he thought he could not be censured for his opinion in that: but he might be instructed by some that varied in opinion from him."

[That fifth article was, Whether it were an extraordinary or private revelation, concerning which Paul made mention, Rom. viii. 38. *I am persuaded that neither death nor life, &c. shall separate us from the love of God.*] Anno 1595.

The Archbishop proceeded to the seventh, of which he said, " he knew not what he should think of his answer to " that question; [*viz.* concerning Barret's speaking so bit- " terly and contumeliously of those excellent men, P. Mar- " tyr, Calvin, Beza, &c.] but that he confuted Calvin and " Beza in some points, wherein he thought they erred: " and yet, as the Archbishop added, he seemed to repent " him of speaking in such sort against them as might be " offensive to any good man. Indeed I mislike, said his " Grace, that he should once name them to their reproach. " That errors might be confuted without naming of the " persons to their discredit; especially such as had laboured " in the Church, and that did concur with us in the chief " and principal points of religion. Notwithstanding, we had " been little beholden to some of them, who rashly and un- " charitably had believed some reports of this government, " and took upon them to censure us in books printed. " Which, as the Archbishop charitably added, he was per- " suaded they would not now do, if it were to do again. " But we must take heed, said he, that their bare names " and authorities carried not men too far; as to believe " their errors, or to yield unto them that honour of for- " bearance of reproof, which was not yielded to any of the " ancient Fathers.

" That he did not altogether mislike his answer to the " last. For he did think that divers of themselves liked " not in all points of that retractation; as containing in " it some untruths. That for his own part, he thought it " was enjoined unto him without due consideration. But " that he did not like his *quatenus non repugnat supra-* " *dictis responsionibus.* That retractation, they knew, was " published in print: and although most of the copies were " suppressed, yet many were abroad. Which surely, said " the Archbishop, was not great credit to their University.

BOOK IV. Anno 1595.

" And yet might very well satisfy and content them, without any further urging of him to the justifying thereof; " which some of the best of themselves in some points " misliked, as he said before.

457 " But that the conclusion of all, wherein he offered to " submit himself to the judgment of those who had chiefest " authority to decide these controversies, and reform that " which they should think to be erroneous, ought in conscience and charity to satisfy them, if they sought his " reformation, and not his overthrow and destruction. That " the fierceness and peremptoriness of some in these cases " did more harm than good." And this declaration of his mind he followed with these resolute words, and as became the chief Prelate of the Church, and an impartial judge :

And requires Baret's case to be heard before him.

" I will bear with no man's contempt or undutiful behaviour towards superiors; neither may I tolerate any man " that impugneth the Articles of Religion, set down by authority. And therefore in punishing such, you shall not " need to doubt of my joining with you: but I must first " therein be duly informed, not by report of others, but by " hearing of the parties themselves."

Adding, " That therefore, if some one or two of them " would take the pains to be there with him sometime the " next term, and to cause likewise the parties offending to " be there also, they should perceive that he would deal in " these cases as an honest man ought to do, and one that " esteemed as much of the privileges of the University as " any man living. And therefore he desired this of them, " not by any authority he had, but of good-will and of " friendship towards them, and of duty towards the Church " and that University. Thinking that to be the best course " for the ending of these controversies, and for the avoiding of further troubles. Whereunto he persuaded himself " they would willingly yield; the request being reasonable, " and to so good an end, and without any intent to infringe " any liberty which they either did or might claim.

" Nevertheless in the mean time he prayed them to give

" strait and earnest charge, that no man in pulpit within " the University should deal in these causes, to or fro, un- " til further order were taken. And then protesting unto " them, (which, he said, he would willingly should be made " known,) that if any man should disobey their order there- " in, he would not only assist them in the punishing such " contempt, but also further to censure the same, if the " parties should so offend elsewhere."

Anno 1595.

After this, Baret came to a second examination at Lambeth, before the Archbishop, and one or two of the Heads deputed, it seems, (as the Archbishop had in his former letter advised,) upon the foresaid articles. Which he prudently answered shortly and directly; *viz.* to the first he answered thus: that it seemed very likely, that the Lord prayed not for Peter alone, but for all the elect; and those only, that they fall not from faith and salvation *finally*. For I most firmly believe that the elect cannot fall away *finally*, &c.

Baret's examination at Lambeth.

" To the second article I answer affirmatively. To the " third, negatively. To the fourth, if he be truly penitent, " I answer affirmatively: if he be not, negatively. To the " fifth, I answer as before. To the sixth, as before, affirm- " atively: and because so God would. To the seventh, I " answer affirmatively. To the last article I answer as be- " fore: that is, as far as it doth not oppose these answers." This was Baret's second answer to the articles.

And so the Archbishop sending back Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyndal, then with him at Lambeth, for settling a peace among the scholars for the time to come, by a conformity of doctrine, wrote by them a letter to the Heads to that purpose, which I shall give account of presently. And as for Baret, he wrote, that he persuaded himself they should find him willing to perform that which was prescribed him; the rather, if he was used courteously and without bitterness.

The Archbishop sends another letter to the Heads.

At last then, to heal all this breach, a favourable retractation was by the Archbishop appointed him to make, when he should come to Cambridge: so favourable, that it

A favourable retractation drawn up

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595. for Baret to make at Cambridge.

was directed to be drawn up by the Vice-Chancellor, and in his own words, out of his own dictates, according to his own requests, when he was with his Grace: as the Vice-Chancellor acquainted the Archbishop by letter. It ran in these words: *Reverendi patres et fratres charissimi, in concione mea ad clerum apud vos jampridem habitâ, asse-*
458 *rui nonnulla quæ multorum aures animosque magnoperè et meritò offenderunt: dixi enim confidenter et pertinaciter tenui*, &c. *i. e.* "Reverend fathers and dear brethren, in "my sermon *ad clerum* preached some time since before "you, I asserted some things which gave much offence to "the ears and minds of many, and that deservedly. For I "said confidently, and stiffly maintained, first, That a "temporary and unfruitful faith is all one with a true and "saving faith; and that there is no difference or distinc-"tion in faith. Secondly, That it is given to none certainly "to know by a certainty of faith that he is elected. Third-"ly, That none can in this frail world be certain of his sal-"vation by a certainty of faith. Fourthly, That remission "of sins is an article of faith, but not special of this or that "person. Fifthly, That Peter's faith only could not fail. "Sixthly, That Christ prayed for Peter's faith only, that it "should not fail. Seventhly, That David knew not that he "could not fall away. Eighthly, That the gift of perse-"verance is a future contingent. Being now overcome by "truth, and according to the appointment and command "of my superiors, I do freely, openly, and ingenuously, "and from my heart, revoke, condemn, and detest these "assertions, as being contrary to the sacred Scriptures, "and the orthodox faith, lawfully approved in the Church "of England. And I do solemnly promise, that hereafter "I will never profess them or defend them: nor think "otherwise of religion than now the Church of England "thinketh. Which I do believe to be the true Church of "Christ. And I am sorry I spake so reproachfully of those "chief men, Martyr, Calvin, Beza, Zanchy; whom I con-"fess have deserved excellently well of the Church of "Christ."

But, it seems, it was hard howsoever to bring this man openly to make this retractation. It was penned ready for him to have done in the beginning of the term, according to former appointment. And he had acknowledged the same to be his own words, and seemed, before the Heads, willing to perform it, if he might have some respite for further conference, to be more fully persuaded that the points he should acknowledge were indeed errors. For which he requiring only a fortnight's time, the Vice-Chancellor, (who then was Dr. Goad,) notwithstanding, as he signified to the Archbishop, it was his own fault that all this while he came to none for conference, allowed him respite for almost three weeks, *viz.* until the last of January. And in the mean time appointed unto him certain persons to confer with, to his own good liking: who were Mr. Chaderton and Mr. Overal, Professors in Divinity. It was about the 10th of January that the Vice-Chancellor had this discourse with Baret: of all which, two or three days after, he informed the Archbishop. Who shewed himself very well to like of that which he had done, with some other instructions given by word of mouth to Dr. Clayton. But Dr. Baro, who was of another mind, (whether seasonably or unseasonably,) preaching *ad clerum* in the midst of these heats, and touching these controverted points, as we shall soon hear more of, created some fears that Baret would after all decline making the said confession and acknowledgment. For so the Vice-Chancellor wrote to the Archbishop at the same time, that since that unhappy accident, (as he called Baro's sermon,) he much doubted conference would not do him so much good, as that late sermon had done him (among others) hurt and hinderance.

Anno 1595.

Which he delays, and puts off till conferred with.

Dr. Baro's *clerum* about this time.

And thus I have, by the help of the Archbishop's own papers, shewn the earnest transactions of this affair in the University, and wherein the Archbishop himself was so concerned, relating to those controverted points which afterwards so much exercised the *reformed Churches*, and began about this time to be moved and disputed in this realm. And lest I may have omitted somewhat in this

BOOK IV. Anno 1595.

large relation, I shall give here a short recapitulation of this long process, drawn up by the Archbishop's own pen; for the vindication, I suppose, of himself, and also for the information of some great men, inquisitive into so notable an emergence.

A summary of Baret's business; drawn up by the Archbishop.

"I. Baret preached a sermon, at Cambridge, *ad clerum;* "wherein divers unsound points of divinity were uttered, "to the offence of many. II. Baret therefore was con- "vented before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, and en- "joined to recant. III. Baret did read a recantation pre- 459 "scribed unto him; but not in such a sort as satisfied "most of the hearers. IV. Baret thereupon was convented "again, and threatened to be expelled the University. "V. Baret hereupon complaineth to me. And I writ down "to the Vice-Chancellor, &c. to desire them to stay further "proceedings against him, until such time as I might un- "derstand the causes of their proceeding, being matters of "divinity. And the rather, because I found some errors "in that recantation, which they had caused him to pro- "nounce: which errors also were afterward confessed by "some of them; and were manifest. VI. Hereupon they "writ to my Lord Treasurer, their Chancellor; and com- "plained grievously of Baret; and desired that by his "authority they might proceed to the punishing of him. "VII. My Lord answered, that he would confer with me, "and refer the matter to my hearing. VIII. But that be- "ing misliked by the party that was sent about the busi- "ness, as being supposed to be repugnant to their privi- "leges, it pleased his Lordship to write his letter to the "Vice-Chancellor and others to proceed against Baret. "IX. Which when I understood, I writ to his Lordship, "and desired him to cause stay to be made from further "proceeding in this cause, until better consideration were "had thereof: some of the things called in question being "deep points of divinity, and wherein great learned men "did vary in opinion. X. His Lordship accordingly did "cause stay to be made. XI. Then I desired of the Vice- "Chancellor, that some might be sent unto me instructed

" in these causes; and that Baret might come up likewise: " to the end I might the better end the controversies: all " which was performed. XII. The Dean of Ely and Mr. Anno 1595. " Dr. Whitaker came unto me, and so did Baret. I found " that Baret had erred in divers points. I delivered mine " opinion of the propositions brought unto me by Dr. " Whitaker: wherein some few being added, I agreed fully " with them, and they with me.

" And I know them to be sound doctrines, and uniformly " professed in this Church of England, and agreeable to " the Articles of Religion established by authority. And " therefore I thought it meet that Baret should in more " humble sort confess his ignorance and error: and that " none should be suffered to teach any contrary doctrine " to the foresaid propositions agreed upon.

" And this is the sum of all this action. And if this " agreement be not maintained, further contentions will " grow, to the animating the common adversaries, the Pa- " pists: by whose practice Baret and others are set on. " Some of his opinions being indeed Popish."

This was then the Archbishop's final judgment of these contested points, according to the foresaid retractation drawn up at Lambeth; and his opinion of the secret kindlers of these contentions.

At length the Heads made a conclusion with Baret, according to the advice the Archbishop had given them by Dr. Clayton: which it seemed they followed. And in a letter he wrote them in the month of January, he told them he liked well of what they had done.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1595. 460

Whitaker's clerum *about the controverted points. The Lambeth Articles. The Archbishop of York's judgment of them; and the Bishop of Rochester's. The Archbishop's letter to the University for submission to them. Their answer and thanks. His further private instructions to the Vice-Chancellor, upon these propositions coming to the Queen's knowledge. Her letter to the Archbishop about them. The Lord Treasurer's thoughts of them. The Heads offended with Dr. Baro for his* clerum *on these points. Whereupon he writes to the Archbishop. Account of Baro given the Archbishop by the Vice-Chancellor. The Archbishop's directions to the Vice-Chancellor.*

BUT now, having finished Baret's story, we shall look a little backwards, in order to shew another great care of our Archbishop towards the same peace and quiet of the University; however it succeeded.

Dr. Whitaker preaches a sermon at Cambridge of the points now in controversy. Sends it with his letter to the Lord Treasurer. MSS. Burghlian.

While Baret's business was in hand, in the month of November Dr. Whitaker, for the rooting out the more effectually his doctrine, gave the University a sermon treating on those points. And soon after sent the said sermon to the Lord Treasurer, their Chancellor, with his letters, importing, that therewith he had sent him a copy of a sermon preached by him *ad clerum* in Cambridge, at the beginning of that term; "wherein he was by duty moved, "he said, to entreat of certain points, which some among "them had begun of late to call in question; and so had "bred some difference of judgment in the minds of many; "and greater offence and trouble was to be feared, if good "order were not taken and provided to the contrary in "time. That he laboured therein, by setting such grounds "as he had received, he said, of the best writers, to stay "the minds of the scholars, and to maintain the doctrine "of our Church, to his simple power, against these inno-"vations. That he took not upon him to inform his Lord-

" ship's judgment, only he thought it his duty to acquaint " him with their troubles and these controversies raised in " his University. Whereof he desired and beseeched Al- Anno 1595. " mighty God to give a good and quiet end." This letter bore date November 19, from the house of the Dean of Paul's; who was his worthy uncle.

Comes up to London from the Heads to the Archbishop.

For he was now come up to London, sent by the Heads of the University to the Archbishop, and some other learned Divines, to consult with them for the pacification of these disputes and differences; and to labour with the chief governor of ecclesiastical causes under her Majesty, for establishing a peaceable order; as the said Whitaker signified to the Chancellor of the University. And what success God should give of their labours, he would, he said, certify his Lordship ere it were long.

Dr. Baro's *clerum* displeases.

And as this Public Professor of Divinity had preached according to his sentiments in these points, so not long after did Dr. Baro, the other Public Professor, in a sermon *ad clerum*, give his different opinions of the same. For which, as the one received applause, so the other was brought into trouble, (as we shall hear by and by,) however humbly and modestly his opinion was offered.

Certain articles of doctrine concluded upon at Lambeth.

For the Heads thought convenient to take this opportunity the faster to fix these doctrines, which they had taken so much pains to maintain against another party that could not digest them. And therefore they had sent up to the Archbishop, according to his advice, Dr. Whitaker and Dr. Tyndal, deputed by them, to confer with his Grace and 461 other learned men for the establishing of these points, to be acquiesced in, in that University. Which at length was done and finished at Lambeth, Novemb. 20, in nine propositions, commonly called the Lambeth Articles. And the scholars in the University were strictly enjoined to conform their judgments thereunto, and not to vary from, for the preservation of peace and quietness among them. Which articles, though set down by Fuller, in his Ecclesiastical History, I shall here present a correct and authentic copy of, from a manuscript of the Lord Treasurer's; and that

Book ix. p. 230.

BOOK IV. Anno 1595.

seems to be that presented him by Dr. Whitaker himself, upon his taking his leave of him, going back to Cambridge.

Articuli approbati a Reverendissimis Dominis D. D. Joanne Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et Richardo Episcopo Londinensi, et aliis Theologis, Lambethæ, Novembris 20, *anno* 1595.

The articles.

1. *Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam, et quosdam ad mortem reprobavit.*

2. *Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam non est prævisio fidei, aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei, quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.*

3. *Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus numerus est, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.*

4. *Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem necessariò propter peccata sua damnabuntur.*

5. *Vera, viva, justificans fides, et Spiritus Dei sanctificans non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis, aut finaliter aut totaliter.*

6. *Homo verè fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, certus est plerophoriâ fidei, de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.*

7. *Gratia salutaris non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si voluerint.*

8. *Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit. Et omnes homines non trahuntur à Patre, ut veniant ad Filium.*

9. *Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.*

The Archbishop of York's judgment of them.

Which propositions the Archbishop thought fit to send to his brother the Archbishop of York, Dr. Matthew Hutton, being a learned Divine, and sometime Public Professor and contemporary with our Archbishop, for his judgment of them. And what it was, the said most reverend Father soon sent back in his letter: which letter may be read in

Fuller's Ecclesiastical History. But his judgment (not extant there) was as followeth: To the first he subscribed, *Verissimum.* To the second he underwrote, *Non minus verum.* To the third, *Verba sunt Augustini, cap.* 13. *de Correpț. et Gra.* To the fourth, *Certissimum: et tamen si* necessariò *deleatur, minus offendet infirmos. Lege Augustin. cap.* 22. *De bono perseverantiæ, quomodo loquendum sit de reprobis.* To the fifth, *Non minus verum.* To the sixth, *Augustin. cap.* 8. *De bono perseverantiæ, reprobi quidem vocati, justificati, per lavacrum regenerationis renovati sunt, et tamen exeunt: quia non erant secundum propositum vocati. Bonum est ergo ut addatur,* secundum propositum vocatus. To the seventh, *Minus offendit, si deleatur,* si voluerint. *Vid. Augustin. De bono perseverantiæ, cap.* 22. *Quomodo loquendum,* &c. To the eighth, *Hæc propositio eadem videtur cum superiori.* To the ninth, *Soli Pelagiani et Semipelagiani hoc negabunt.* And then he subscribed his name, after these words:

Anno 1595. Book ix. p. 230. Cod. MS. Coll. S. Trin. Cant.

Hæ theses ex sacris literis vel apertè colligi, vel necessaria consecutione deduci possunt; et ex scriptis Augustini.

Matth. Ebor.

462 Bishop of Rochester's opinion of them written to the Archbishop.

Dr. Yong also, Bishop of Rochester, was written to, concerning these propositions by the Archbishop; upon occasion of a report at the Court, that at his last being there he should have given his resolution against them. But the said Bishop shewed his Grace, in his answer, that he had never so much as seen them before now that he had sent them, nor scarcely heard of them. But that of the fourth proposition he was somewhat doubtful: and that [as he said modestly] might be because he did not perfectly understand it. And that for the rest, he had no manner of scruple, as yet. This he writ from Bromeleigh, December the 24th, 1595.

They give offence to many.

But these articles gave great offence, not only in the University, but even at Court too: though the Archbishop's intention was sincere, to beget a quietness in the University, and to stop for the future all broaching of new

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

doctrines, and starting new points in divinity; apt to beget disputes and differences. When this business was despatched at Lambeth, the Dean of Ely and the Queen's Professor, the two Cambridge Divines, went home: and with them the Archbishop sent his letters, dated Novemb. 24, to the Heads, with some account of these propositions, concluded and determined by himself and the rest, and instructions for requiring submission to them. But the latter, soon after his return, died.

The Archbishop sends his letters by the two Doctors, returning to Cambridge with the propositions.

The Archbishop thus delivered his mind in his said letter to them: "That the two said Doctors could signify "unto them what was done in the matters for which they "came thither: which, he doubted not, but that they would "faithfully relate to them. That his earnest and hearty "desire was, to have the peace of the Church generally "observed in all places; especially in that University, "whereof he was, as he said, a member. And that for the "better observation and nourishing of the said peace, they "had, with some care and diligence, drawn out and set "down certain propositions, which they were persuaded to "be true. And the copy thereof he now sent unto them, "in his letter inclosed: praying them to take care that "nothing should be publicly taught to the contrary. And "that also in teaching them, discretion and moderation "should be used; that such as should be in some points "differing in judgment, might not be of purpose stung, or "justly grieved. And especially, that no bitterness, con-"tention, or personal reproof or reproaches, should be used "by any towards any. And that the propositions never-"theless must so be taken and used as their private judg-"ments; thinking them to be true, and correspondent to "the doctrine professed in the Church of England, and "established by the laws of the land: and not as laws and "decrees." Thus moderately and cautiously did the Archbishop advise that they should be held and esteemed.

Etsi Whitakeri dogmata minimè probabat,

What the Archbishop had here written will sufficiently clear him of a mean and disparaging character, given him by one that undertook to give an history of the Lambeth

Articles, to this purport: "That though the Archbishop "did not in the least like those articles, (which he calls "*Whitaker's doctrines*,) yet out of an easy temper, and a "fear of discord, when he could not make others approve "of his judgment, he came over, and became a party to "theirs."

Anno 1595. facilitate tamen, et metu discordiæ, cum suam probare aliis non posset, factus est ipse alienæ sententiæ accersio. Art. Lamb. Hist. p. 5.

To which said letter of the Archbishop's the Vice-Chancellor and Heads answered, December 13, to this import: "That they understood by his Grace's letters, as also by "the report of those that were sent, of the good issue, by "his Lordship's special means, of that business. For which "as they heartily praised God for the comfort they had "received by his Grace and others concurring with them "in judgment touching the propositions; so they had ere "now, they said, returned their humble and hearty thanks "to his Grace for his care and travail in bringing the con-"troversies to so good and peaceable an end; had not "their great loss, by Dr. Whitaker's death, so wholly and "justly occupied and affected them, as that they could "scarce think of any other thing. Wherein they knew his "Lordship also, for his great care and love to Christ's "Church, (which had, as they said, the greatest loss,) took "not the least part with them.

The Heads return their thanks to the Archbishop for the propositions sent down.

"That now thinking they might not longer defer this "duty, they besought his Grace to accept their due and "humble thanks for his tender care and zeal to that Uni- 463
"versity, and his so wise and careful compounding these "controversies, to God's glory and the peace of the Uni-"versity and the Church. Wherein, as his Grace required, "they purposed, God willing, every one in their places, for "the preserving of that peace, to employ their special care "and endeavour; and to continue the course of doctrine "in those points among them, according to the direction "and cautions his Grace had thought meetest. And so "commending the same in their hearty prayers unto Al-"mighty God, they humbly took their leaves. From Cam-"bridge, the 13. Decem. 1595." Those that subscribed their names were, Roger Goad, Vice-Chancellor, R. Some,

BOOK IV. Umphr. Tyndal, Edm. Barwel, Tho. Neville, Tho. Legge, Tho. Preston, L. Chaderton.

Anno 1595. The Archbishop's private instructions to the Vice-Chancellor about them.

But besides the Archbishop's advice to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads in his former letters, he gave also some further instructions more secretly to be delivered to the Vice-Chancellor by word of mouth from Dr. Nevill. The substance of which was to let him understand, that these propositions (as he had learned) were not well pleasing to some at the Court; [and that was even the Queen herself.] And that he had some apprehension, that he, the Vice-Chancellor, would receive some order, and that perhaps from the Lord Burghley, their Chancellor, to forbear urging them in the University, but rather to dismiss them. And therefore that in the mean time, before any such order came, he should use his discretion, and not to publish them any further than that he concurred with them.

By his letters to Dr. Neville.

For thus he wrote to the said Nevill, "That at Mr. Dean "of Ely's, and the rest being there, [at Lambeth,] they had "agreed of certain propositions which were undoubtedly "true, and not to be denied of any sound Divine. But that, "he knew not how, or by what means, the same had been "signified to her Majesty in evil sense: and as though the "same had been by him sent down to the University to be "disputed upon, or, he knew not how, published. That it "was the very thing, he said, that he before something sus-"pected," &c. And then he blamed some of them, "for "refusing advertisements, [which, it seems, he had given "them,] and that they thought themselves to have no need "of advice. And that otherwise these things had never "gone to this extremity. And that the foolery [as he called "it] of Mr. Some had done no good to the cause. He add-"ed, that her Majesty was persuaded of the truth of the "propositions, but did think it to be utterly unfit that the "same should any ways be publicly dealt with, either in "sermons or disputations: as he thought they were like "further to understand ere it were long.

"He prayed him to have him recommended to Mr. Vice-"Chancellor, and to let him understand so much from him.

" And to desire him in the mean time so to use the said " propositions, as there might be no publication thereof, " otherwise than in private. For that indeed his meaning " was only to let them [the Vice-Chancellor and the Heads] " understand he did concur with them in judgment, and " would to the end: and meant not to suffer any man to " impugn them openly, or otherwise. And that when they " should have received the foresaid admonition from her " Majesty, he wished that they would return in answer " their willingness to observe her Majesty's command- " ment; but with signification of their assured persuasion " of the truth of the foresaid propositions. And this advice " he would have him [Dr. Nevill] to give privately to the " Vice-Chancellor, and to use it discreetly. But in no case " to suffer these letters [which he the Archbishop had now " written] to go out of his own hands, but to keep them " himself; and either to burn them, or to bring them to " him again at his coming thither."

He concluded with telling him, " that he writ to him as " his good and trusty friend, and as a feeling member of " that body. And that he could not but commend very " greatly her Majesty's great care in these matters, being " of the same mind himself. *Vale in Christo.*" This was dated from Lambeth, Decemb. 8.

The Vice-Chancellor will observe the Archbishop's directions.

Upon which message the Vice-Chancellor returned answer to the Archbishop in a letter bearing the same date with the common letter from the Heads before specified, importing, " That for that it had pleased his Grace by his " private letter unto Mr. Dean of Peterborough, to adver- 464 " tise him, [the Vice-Chancellor,] upon some special late " occasion, of his pleasure and advice, he humbly thanked " his Grace therefore. And that he had and would endea- " vour answerable regard thereof, by all the good care and " means he might. And that in the mean time, until they " should hear forthwith as insinuated, and for the peace of " the University by avoiding long contrary occasions, as he " had bent himself thereunto in his first entrance to that " troublesome office; before any further occasion were

BOOK IV. Anno 1595.

" ministered; so his Grace should well find, that this should " be his special care, and that he would, as God should en- " able him, use all good means, to his best power, to pre- " vent the contrary: withal, *sectantes veritatem in charitate.* " As by his Grace's especial means and travail they now " might much better, with general quiet and contentment, " he hoped, of all. For which, said he, God's name be " praised." Written from King's college.

The Queen displeased at these articles: signified by her letter.

Howsoever therefore this consultation of Divines at Lambeth was set on foot, and the articles as privately as could be there framed, such a matter could not be hid. Certain it is, however the Queen liked of them, she liked not the method used in the effecting of them; and resented what the Archbishop and the rest had done; especially, if they should permit them to be disputed and wrangled in the Schools. For in a short time after, she commanded Sir Robert Cecill, one of her Secretaries, to signify her mind to the Archbishop in this tenor: " That her Majesty had " heard, as of Mr. Whitaker's death, so of some business " he came up about. And that she had commanded him " [the Secretary] to send unto his Grace, to acquaint him, " that she misliked much that any allowance had been " given by his Grace and the rest, of any such points to be " disputed: being a matter tender and dangerous to weak " ignorant minds. And thereupon that she required his " Grace to suspend them." The Secretary continued, " That " he could not tell what to answer, but did this at her " Majesty's commandment, and left the matter to his " Grace. Who, he knew, could best satisfy her in these " things. And thus he humbly took his leave. From the " Court, the 5. of Decemb. 1595. Subscribing,

" Your Grace's to command,

" Ro. Cecill."

Whitaker delivers a copy of them to the Lord Treasurer. Who dislikes them.

The Lord Treasurer might probably have been the first that gave the Queen knowledge of this matter. He soon became acquainted with it. For Dr. Whitaker thought convenient, upon his departure from Lambeth, to deliver a

copy of the propositions to him: upon which that great and wise Lord held this discourse with him. He told him, he had read some part of what he had presented him with. That as for his sermon *ad clerum*, (which he had also presented him with,) it contained mysteries too high for his understanding. And concerning the proposition of Predestination, he seemed to mislike of it. And reasoned some while with Whitaker about those heads: and drew, by a similitude, a reason from an earthly prince. Inferring thereby, that they charged God with cruelty, and might cause men to be desperate in their wickedness. To which that learned man thought fit to say but little; considering that Lord's present weakness by reason of want of health; but only, that nothing was in that behalf set down, but what was in the article set out by public authority: and so seeing these matters were too deep for him, (as he said,) he bade him and the other Doctor farewell: and gave them thanks for making him acquainted with these things. Anno 1595.

The Archbishop did not intend that this matter should have flown abroad so soon: which made him inquire, by letter written to Dr. Tyndal, whether they had discovered these articles to any. Upon which he gave his Grace the relation of the matter aforesaid between Dr. Whitaker and the Lord Treasurer.

The Queen also, (as was hinted before,) as she was displeased herewith, so likewise heard of the sermon *ad clerum* by Dr. Baro. With whom she shewed herself particularly angry, in some discourse she had of these matters with the Archbishop, he being an alien, and so ought to have carried himself quietly and peaceably in a country where he was so humanely harboured and infranchised, both himself and his family. But the Archbishop represented him as well as he could to her Majesty. And acquainting the said learned man herewith, by Dr. Nevill, (returning to Cambridge,) he in a great concern wrote a letter to his Grace on this occasion, which ran in this tenor: The Queen displeased with Baro for his *clerum*. 465

Ex iis quæ mihi tuo nomine retulit Dr. Nevile, &c. Thus in English; "That by what Dr. Nevile told him in his [the His letter to the Archbishop

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595. thereupon, declaring his opinion.

" Archbishop's] name, he much feared that his kindness " towards him had brought some cause of trouble to his " Grace. Which, he said, would certainly be very grievous " to him: since he ever very much loved (he did not say) " his Lordship, but his very person, for those endowments " of mind printed in him: which he admired. Which was " the cause that he would depend upon him alone, and so " would do hereafter; since he had in this his calamity, by " a new and singular benefit, even bound him: having " spoken for him to the Queen's Majesty, and to help him " being afflicted. Which he should keep in memory as " long as he lived.

" But as to the matters in controversy (as he proceeded) " you are not ignorant, most illustrious Lord, what my " opinion is: namely, that these are the chief, that God is " not the author of sin, nor would that it should be com- " mitted; when he openly forbids it, and reproves men for " nothing but because of sin, which he hateth. And lastly, " that the faithful, or the elect, ought not to be secure of " their salvation. These, he said, were the chief things " which he and others defended. Which, he said, as he " added, because there were certain articles which were " said to be defined against them, [he meant himself and " others,] which scarcely touched, he said, the state of the " controversy: and were almost of that sort, that they " might easily be proved, being dexterously understood. " Nor did he require a new sense, but the same which might " be fetched out of that letter of Mr. Hooper, [mentioned " in his sermon,] which he thought to be orthodox. But " howsoever they were understood and wrested against " them undeservedly, yet it was certain that he should obey " his Lordship, and that he would keep peace as long as he " should be there.

" But he wished it might be known at length to the " Queen's Majesty, what his piety and reverence was to- " wards her. Adding, that indeed for her, and for the " defence of the state of this Church which she defended, " he would shed his blood, if need were, with as willing

" and ready a mind as her own faithful subjects ought to
" do, and as she would have him do, since she had been
" willing to make him free of her kingdom, and his wife Anno 1595.
" and children, and to confirm it with her Seal.

" And that these were the reasons, he said, in the con-
" clusion of his letter, why he aspired not to the Queen's
" professorship of Divinity; [now void by the death of Dr.
" Whitaker;] but that he hoped his humanity would have
" respect to his labours: who had there spent his age for
" twenty years for a very small stipend, and had been va-
" riously vexed by them who were not so well pleased with
" the state of this Church. And then ended his address
" with these prayers, *viz.*

" In the mean time I beseech Almighty God to preserve
" you safe, most reverend Father in Christ, and best patron
" to this kingdom, church, and us. From Cambridge, 13.
" of Decemb. 1595.

" Tuæ Dignitatis studiosissimus,
" P. Baro."

Baro's discourse with the Archbishop about them.

It was now when the Heads had their eye upon Peter Baro, D. D. the Lady Margaret Professor; who now stood most in the way to their better settling these points to their minds. For he did not sufficiently, as they suspected aright, accord with them: and therefore those nine articles, or propositions, were soon offered to him for his consent and allowance of them. The occasion we shall see by 466
and by. He had lately some discourse with the Archbishop about them: to whom in conference he declared his mind; and that so tenderly in his interpretations of them, that they might not be understood in any wise to contradict any of the articles of religion established; nor yet to run into the extreme consequences: as, that God hated his own workmanship, as he was man, without regard that he was a sinner. Baro also took occasion honestly, in a sermon, to declare his mind upon the 17th and 21st Articles of the Church: and shewing how some did interpret those nine propositions, so as to overthrow the received doctrines

BOOK IV.

of the Church in her Articles. And therefore he thought good to draw up certain orthodox explications of them, which he sent to his Grace.

Anno 1595.

Baro's sermon *ad clerum.*

But before I rehearse them, I must give some account of this Professor's sermon *ad clerum*, preached January the 12th. Who could not but upon this opportunity declare his thoughts and judgment upon these controverted points. But being a foreigner, he behaved himself modestly, and studied prudently, as much as he could, not to exasperate any. And therefore did not so much deny these propositions, as moderate them, and state, as he apprehended, the true sense of them. And in the midst of his sermon asserted these three things. I. That God created all men according to his own likeness in Adam: and so consequently to eternal life. From which he chased no man, unless because of sin. As Damasus taught, *lib. 2. De Fid. Orthodox.* II. That Christ died sufficiently for all: against Joh. Piscator, a foreigner, who denied it: whose opinion, he shewed, was contrary to the confession of the Church of England, and the Articles approved by the Parliament of this kingdom, and confirmed by the Queen's authority. And for proof thereof repeated the 31st Article. III. That the promises of God made to us, as they are generally propounded to us, were to be generally understood: as it is set down in the 17th Article. But these three heads some were not pleased with: namely, such who then endeavoured to persuade, that God did on purpose create the greatest part of men to destruction; that by the perdition of them he might get glory to himself. And that Christ did not die for all; not for that many refused to accept his benefits, but because he would not that his death should profit them: and moreover, because they were not created to salvation, as others, but to destruction. And for the same cause they would not have the promises to be general, but extended them to those few persons alone, (yea, rather restrained them,) who alone, they said, were created by God to be saved.

His three assertions.

This Dr. Baro said, to stop the young scholars from be-

ing infected with Piscator's dangerous book, which he saw was in the hands of many. Nor did he say any thing in his sermon concerning the late new propositions made at Lambeth; as he pleaded afterwards for himself, in respect of his said sermon. This learned foreigner had read the Divinity Lecture now twenty-four years with good approbation: never called into question till now. But that foreign doctrine receiving more countenance here in the University, by some of the chief, was, if possibly, to be established in the minds of the students. And therefore, to follow their former attempts, Baro was cited before Dr. Goad, the Vice-Chancellor, in the Consistory. Whereby he fell into great troubles.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1595.

Called into question before the Vice-Chancellor for the same.

Though that learned man vindicated his sentiments to be consonant to the doctrine of the Church of England, in her avowed Articles: and urged for the true sense of the nine new propositions, that they were not to be understood as to vary from or thwart those old Articles, as some were apt to take them. And to that effect he now wrote to the Archbishop, Jan. 14, when he saw what offence some of the Heads took at his said sermon: and together with his letter he inclosed his orthodox explication of those propositions: in which sense he took them; and so rendering them agreeable to the foresaid Articles. For to this purport did his letter, wrote in Latin, run: *viz.*

Gives account of his sermon to the Archbishop; and explication of the articles.

Quum me tua Dominatio, &c. Thus in English: "That "when his Lordship lately spake with him about the nine "articles sent thither, he spake freely that which he "thought good, and what then occurred to him. But be- "cause many things came not so soon into his mind, which 467
"might be said for a favourable exposition of them, he "thought it would not be unacceptable, if he wrote some- "thing more amply and particularly concerning each. "Which he did also, as he said, the more willingly, be- "cause he saw some there [at Cambridge] who took them "in that sense, and so stretched them, as to fetch out and "confirm from them all Piscator's paradoxes. That now it "was come to that pass, that he and others might scarcely

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" say, that God created the first man, and in him the rest, " according to his image, and so to eternal life: nor that " he rejected any or hated any as a man, (for otherwise he " had rejected and hated his own image,) but only as a " sinner: according to that saying of St. Augustin, *God " hated not Esau, a man, but a sinner.* Or the offering of " Christ to be a perfect redemption, propitiation, satisfac- " tion, for all the sins of the whole world, as well original " as actual: which notwithstanding were the very words " of the 31st English Article. Or lastly, that the promises " of God made to us in Christ, were to be generally taken " and understood. Which were also the words of the 17th " Article.

" Which three things, he said, he lately touched in a " sermon, remitting his auditors to that epistle of D. " Hooper's: which he told them was approved by him as " orthodox. But that some did so interpret and urge, as " he said then, those nine articles, just as if they had been " framed, namely, to this end, by him the Archbishop and " the rest, to abolish those old ones, confirmed by author- " ity of Queen and Parliament. Which, he said, he was " persuaded was very far from his Grace's mind. That he " spake therefore according to those old and orthodox Ar- " ticles; and did not so much as touch these new: and that " as well for the preserving of peace, as for his own sake; " whom from his heart he honoured and reverenced. Of " which will of his that exposition of his should be witness, " which he now sent to his Lordship, more favourable than " theirs was, [that were for that extreme sense of those " Articles.] And which he earnestly and humbly, again " and again, prayed him also favourably and with a candid " mind to receive. And so beseeching God Almighty to " preserve and protect him," &c. Dated from Cambridge, the 14th of January, 1595. For Baro's *explications* of the said propositions, well worthy the perusing, more fully to understand this controversy, and this learned Professor's judgment, they may be found in the Appendix.

No. XXVI.

I shall now set down the first occasion of this Doctor's

troubles, as it was represented by the Vice-Chancellor to the Archbishop, in a letter written but the day after the Doctor's *clerum* was preached. "That according to his "Grace's advice, sent to the University when the nine "articles came down, for the maintaining of peace in the "University, to acquiesce in those articles; he, the Vice-"Chancellor, did accordingly, shortly after the receipt, use "means by the Heads and Presidents, that every several "college should take knowledge and warning thereof: and "unto some particular persons, of whom he doubted, as "namely, Dr. Baro, the Frenchman, he gave knowledge "and caveat, by causing him to see and read over the said "propositions; as also that clause of his [the Archbishop's] "letter, *that nothing should be publicly taught to the "contrary*." Whereupon the said Vice-Chancellor added, "That he thanked God, that since that time all things that "way were so peaceable and quiet, that he thought there "had been no dealing to the contrary, even in private: but "he was sure that in public, in divinity exercises, either "in the Schools or in St. Mary's, (where he had been con-"tinually present,) he had not heard the least contradic-"tion. And on the contrary, so far off from personal pro-"voking, as there had been seldom or never any maintain-"ing or mentioning the truth set down in any of those "points, the texts of Scripture not occasioning thereto. "So that it was like, within short time, the former trouble-"some controversies would have worn out of men's minds, "and been forgotten. But that the unhappy (as he called "it) and unlooked-for reviving, which he heard yesterday "[but the day before his writing this letter] at the *clerum* "sermon, to his great grief, from Dr. Baro, would be, he "feared, a great and dangerous occasion of overturning "that their quiet state, with so comfortable hope began.

CHAP. XVII.

Anno 1595.

The Vice-Chancellor to the Archbishop, of the occasion of Baro's troubles.

"For that notwithstanding his [the Vice-Chancellor's] 468
"good success and order taken, being from himself made "known unto him, [Baro,] besides some other special ad-"vertisements which the Vice-Chancellor knew had been "given him privately, (whereupon he made sure account

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" he would no more have meddled in the controversies, " especially in public,) yet the whole course of his said " *clerum* (excepting some entrance he made in the begin- " ning) was concerning the same controversies; and espe- " cially the three last propositions about *universalis gra-* " *tia*, contrary to the doctrine in the same contained; with " more earnestness and vehemency than was remembered " that he ever shewed before: to the great offence and " grief, as the Vice-Chancellor wrote, of all soundly affect- " ed to the truth; and to the encouragement and stirring " again of the minds of his disciples and adherents. And " that this was the more strange and unexpected, for that " his text he chose gave no manner of occasion to deal in " those matters; it being Jam. i. 27, to the end thereof. " [*Pure religion and undefiled, before God and the Father,* " *is this, to visit*, &c.] Whereupon, they looking to hear of " wholesome doctrine, and exhortation unto the fruits of " true religion, for the relieving of the poor, the widow, " and the fatherless, (whereof there was great need and " want among them,) and that every man, touching him- " self, should lead a holy life, and undefiled from the cor- " ruptions of the world; that he, passing these necessary " points offered in the text, fell into such course of the " controversies as was before mentioned; and so continued " almost to the end of his sermon."

Consults with him what to do with Baro.

This is the full account the Vice-Chancellor gave of Baro's sermon to the Archbishop, in order to lay the charge of disobedience and faction as home upon him as he could. That which followed was, that he did the same day privately and severally confer, first with Dr. Clayton, and then with Mr. Chaderton, (two of the Heads present at the sermon,) partly to understand what they thought of the same sermon. And he found them both to think as he did: to be much grieved; to marvel he durst revive such matters, considering former order taken; and to fear it would be occasion of disturbing the peace, well begun to be settled, and making again new stirs and divisions among them; unless some wise and effectual remedy might be in time

provided. Which care in that place lying by office especially upon the Vice-Chancellor, he being perplexed, as he said, what course to take; not seeing by what statute Baro might be dealt withal, and wanting assistance of Heads of colleges, being so few then at home: he thought good first to acquaint his Grace herewith, and humbly to pray his wise aid and advice, being heartily sorry to trouble his Grace with such news. And so meaning shortly to call the said Professor before himself and the Heads, and to burden him with his sermon, especially for the breach of the peace of the University; he humbly desired his Grace, that he might by Mr. Ingram, one of the Beadles then at London, (whom he had appointed to repair to him for that purpose,) to receive from his Grace, by letters, his good advice and help, for referring him to such order as he, [the Vice-Chancellor,] with the consent of the Heads present, should think good to take with him. Unless it should please his Grace, in consideration that he hath taught contrary to the Articles, by his honourable consent and others in the high commission appointed, to send for him, and to deal with him according to their wisdoms. And so leaving the premises to his good consideration, he humbly took his leave of his Grace. Dated from Cambridge, the 13th of January. Anno 1595.

Discourse between the Archbishop and Baro about the propositions.

Dr. Baro, perceiving their coming upon him after this manner, repaired up to London, and came in person to the Archbishop, that by acquainting his Grace with the truth of the matter, he might reconcile some just favour to himself, against some of these Heads that bore him no goodwill. And what passed between the Archbishop and him, the Archbishop's letter to the Vice-Chancellor, wrote some few days after, *viz.* January 16, will shew: "That he was "very sorry that Dr. Baro, notwithstanding all the adver- "tisements that had been given to him, and his faithful "promise made to him, [the Archbishop,] did nevertheless "continue his troublesome course of contending. That he "had of late, by Dr. Nevile, signified unto him, how hardly "her Majesty had been informed against him for these 469

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" causes; and how unfit it was that he, being a stranger,
" and receiving such courtesy and friendship here of good-
" will, and not for any need we had of him, (God be thank-
" ed,) should be so busy in another commonwealth, and
" make himself as it were author of new stirs and conten-
" tions in this Church. That at his last being with him,
" he shewed unto him the propositions, and demanded his
" opinion of every one of them severally, and that at two
" several times. And although the latter time he seemed
" to make some frivolous and childish objections against
" some one or two of them only; yet did he confess that
" they were all true; and that they did not impugn any of
" his assertions. And therefore, as the Archbishop added,
" he could not but wonder what his meaning should be, so
" to deal contrary to the charge given unto him by himself,
" [the Archbishop,] and accepted by him. And that when
" he [the Vice-Chancellor] should call Baro before him, the
" Archbishop prayed him to make known unto him the
" premises. But that which followed, he bade him keep to
" himself, *viz.*

His advice to the Vice-Chancellor concerning him.

" That he doubted indeed that he had received some
" kind of encouragement from some that seemed to make
" some account of his judgment in these points, and talked
" their pleasure thereof, both publicly and privately. That
" possibly also he had heard of some mislikings of the said
" propositions by some in authority. [Perhaps he meant
" the Lord Treasurer, who was Baro's friend.] But that
" therein peradventure in the end he might deceive him-
" self. His advice then that he gave the Vice-Chancellor
" was, to call him before them, and to require a copy of
" his sermon; or, at least, to cause him to set down the
" principal points thereof. And likewise to demand of him
" what should move him to continue that course, notwith-
" standing order taken to the contrary, and so many adver-
" tisements and means as was aforesaid.

" But that forasmuch as there was something ado there
" [*i. e.* at London, and at the Court as it seems] about the
" said propositions, &c. the Archbishop would not have

" them, as he added, to proceed to any determination " against him, until they had advertised him of his answer, " and the particular points of his sermon; and received " back again from him what he thought fittest to be done " by them in this matter."

CHAP. XVII. Anno 1595.

CHAP. XVIII. 470

The process in the Vice-Chancellor's Court against Dr. Baro. His apology for himself to the Lord Treasurer. Who takes his part, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor. Baro writes to Dr. Andrews at Lambeth; and to the Archbishop, concerning the matter charged upon him. Appeals to him: who continues him in his place. His letter of thanks to the Archbishop. The Archbishop of York sends him a treatise of Predestination *to print. The Archbishop of Canterbury inquires of him about Preachers in the north, and other matters. His answer: and his opinion of the Lambeth Propositions.*

THE process against Dr. Baro, before the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, continued through the month of January: for he appeared before them in the Vice-Chancellor's house, in King's college, the 17th of January; and likewise the 21st and 29th of the same, in pursuance of what was done at a meeting of the Heads with the Vice-Chancellor the said January the 17th. Who then declared to them, that a complaint of some Bachelors in Divinity was brought to him in writing against Dr. Baro, with their names subscribed, then also shewed them, the said Heads; charging him with his doctrine in his sermon *ad clerum*, lately preached: whereby he had stirred up again the controversies that were pacified, against the peace of the University, and the command of the Vice-Chancellor, signified to all the colleges, and likewise against the propositions approved by the most reverend Fathers; whereof the said Baro had

Baro's appearances before the Vice-Chancellor.

BOOK IV.

been before acquainted: as the information in the process against him ran.

Anno 1595.

What the abovesaid complaint was, and who were the plaintiffs, follows, as they were taken out of the original by Tho. Smith, Public Notary and Register; and sent by the Vice-Chancellor to their Chancellor, the Lord Burghley, *viz.*

Assertiones quædam D. Baronis in Concione habita ad Clerum, 12° Januarii.

Assertions whereupon Dr. Baro was accused before him. E Regist. Acad. Cantab.

1. *Docuit, Deum omnes et singulos absolutâ voluntate ad vitam æternam creâsse. Ratio. Creavit omnes ad suam imaginem. Ergo, ad beatam vitam. Ac proinde neminem rejicit à salute, nisi ob peccatum superveniens.*

2. *Voluntatem Dei duplicem esse, viz. antecedentem et consequentem. Antecedente quidem voluntate, Deum neminem rejicisse, aliàs improbásset opus suum. Ad hoc illustrandum adhibuit similitudinem Regis, Patris, Agricolæ. Rex leges fert ad civium commodum. Pater non gignit filium ad patibulum, aut ut exhæredet. Agricola non serit arborem, ut eradicet.*

3. *Christum mortuum esse pro omnibus et singulis: ut omnes et singuli scirent se in Christo remedium habere; juxta illud,* Christus venit ad servandum quod perierat. *Omnes autem et singuli perierant in Adamo: ergo, &c. Nam remedium æquè latè patere atque morbum; et Deum non esse προσωπολήπτην.*

4. *Promissiones Dei ad vitam universales esse; et æquè spectare ad Cainam atque Abelem, Esauum atque Jacobum, Judam atque Petrum. Et Cainum non magis à Deo fuisse rejectum quàm Abelem; antequam se excluserat: homines se excludere à cœlo, non Deum: juxta illud,* Perditio tua ex te, Israel.

Subscribed,

Jo. Allenson, *James Crowther,*
Guil. Nelson, *John Hooke,*
Abdias Ashton, *George Downham.*

471 On another day, to the charge that Baro had stirred up

the controversies that were quieted, and had preached doctrines contrary to those said propositions, he answered negatively; and distinguished of the words *ex æquo* and *promiscuè*, on the part of the grace of God sufficient to eternal life, offered to all. Which words he interpreted, *scil. quoad homines universos, non quoad mensuram gratiæ datæ.* For to some, he said, was given greater grace, to other less; to some more talents, to other fewer. To which the Vice-Chancellor then answered, urging, that this assertion and distinction of his repugned not only against the propositions, but against experience: because out of the Church, the Turks and other barbarous nations, although they had external gifts, common to this life, granted them by God; yet they were altogether destitute of grace sufficient to salvation. For the rest of what was said and done at this calling of our Doctor before them, I refer the reader to the Appendix.

His answers.

N°. XXVII.

At his last appearance, January 29, the conclusion was, as appeareth by the University Register, that whereas Baro had promised the Vice-Chancellor, upon his demand, a copy of his sermon, but his lawyers counselling him not to deliver the same; the Vice-Chancellor did now, by virtue of his authority, peremptorily command him to deliver him the whole and entire sermon, as to the substance of it, in writing: which Baro accordingly did promise he would do the next day. And lastly, he did peremptorily, and by virtue of his authority, command Baro that he should wholly abstain from those controversies, propositions, and articles, and to leave them altogether untouched, as well in his lectures, sermons, and determinations, as in his disputations and other his exercises. Thinking it, as it seems, not convenient further to proceed against him without advice from above.

Immediately after, on the same day, Dr. Goad, the Vice-Chancellor, imparted this concern of the University to their Chancellor, and not before; (which is somewhat strange, the matter having been so long bandied about;) whose letter was to this import: "That he was loath, and, as he

The Vice-Chancellor communicates to their Chancellor their proceedings with Baro. MSS. Burghlian.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" formerly had signified, would be sparing to trouble his " Lordship in any suit for University causes, but when " there was urgent necessity. Yet for that it was his part " and duty to acquaint his Lordship with things falling " out there, where his Lordship was their high Head and " Chancellor, (as any special occasion or emergence should " arise,) he was bold to signify a late troublesome public " accident, touching D. Barow, the Frenchman, his sermon " *ad clerum*, the xii. of this January. Whereof he would " sooner, he said, have written, but that till now (after due " examination and proceeding) he could not so fully certify " his Lordship.

" So it is, Right Honourable, (as he proceeded in his re- " lation of this matter,) that certain new controversies, " about substantial points of religion, being here raised, to " the great trouble of the University, before my coming in " office, it pleased God, shortly after mine entrance, by the " good travail of my Lord his Grace of Canterbury, my " Lord of London, and other Divines there, upon his send- " ing up of Dr. Whitaker and Mr. Dr. Tyndal, Dean of Ely, " to bless us with good success and a happy peace and " quietness in those controversies. Until by the said ser- " mon, Dr. Barow, (the Lady Margaret Reader in Divinity,) " contrary to the good advice given by my Lord's Grace of " Canterbury by letters, the commandment by me given to " every college, (with particular signification also to Dr. " Barow,) and against the peace of the University, did again " offensively revive in public the said controversies."

Adding, " that for remedy thereof (being so dangerous " against the peace of the University and the Church) he " had, with the advice of such assistance of Heads as were " at home, procured in such manner as by the several co- " pies thereof, by one of the Beadles then on purpose sent " up, might more plainly appear. Whereunto, for brevity " sake, he referred his Lordship." [One of which copies may be read before, under the title *Assertiones*, and another in the Appendix, No. XXVI.] " That this being a matter " of such importance, and ecclesiastical concernment, he

" had thought meet also to acquaint his Grace of Canter-
" bury therewith by the bearer, for the better staying and
" meeting withal in time of the inconvenience already in
" part there [among them] found, and like more to break 472
" forth in that University, and, consequently, the Church,
" upon this public occasion. Therefore [it was his request]
" that it might please his good Lordship to direct him and
" the rest of the Heads present, with his wise and honour-
" able advice: the rather, for that there wanted a sufficient
" number of Heads at home. And hereupon, he said, he
" would rest without any further proceeding against the
" party, until he received his Lordship's pleasure and ad-
" vice. Yet meaning, with his good Lordship's liking, to
" retain the final ordering locally there, in regard of the
" University's jurisdiction and privileges: which he was
" bold to his power to maintain.

" And so he humbly took his leave, with his hearty
" prayers to Almighty God for his Lordship. Dated from
" King's college, Cambridge, the 29. of Jan. 1595." Sub-
scribing, " Your Lordship's humble and bounden to be
" commanded,

" Roger Goade, Procan."

Baro declares his case to the Chancellor. MSS. Burghlian.

Which information thus sent by the Vice-Chancellor, to render Dr. Baro a criminal in the eyes of that Lord, was not unknown to the said person accused. And he neglected not to represent his true case to the same person, as he had before done to the Archbishop. For about ten days after, in a well penned Latin epistle, he endeavoured to vindicate himself, by stating his case, and shewing what he had indeed delivered in the said so much blamed sermon: professing, " that he could not tell what occasion of offence
" he could have given to them, that they should thus ac-
" cuse him. And declaring what assertions he had laid
" down, he freely left himself to the judgment of his Lord-
" ship: those assertions, he confessed, he had delivered,
" and that he did believe them still to be true; yea, and
" the foundation of our, that is, the Christian religion.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

"That true it was, the Vice-Chancellor did not so much "charge him to have spoken that which was false, as that "he had spoken against the articles, some weeks ago sent "to the University. But that Dr. Baro denied, nor had it "in his mind; but that he only defended the truth of the "Gospel against Piscator, whose book he saw was in the "hands of many of the younger students. And this being "his case, if he had been guilty, as he added, of any fault, "he was in his Lordship's hands, and refused not his cen-"sure. And then begged him for God's sake, (whose cause "this was,) that according to his celebrated prudence and "humanity, he would not resolve any thing concerning "him, or conceive any sinister opinion of him, before he "had diligently again and again inquired, according to "his singular piety and learning, concerning the truth of "those three heads. And that if he found him to have "spoken what was true, (which he hoped,) not to suffer "the Vice-Chancellor to determine any thing more heavy "against him. He added, that this was very grievous to "him, who had now professed divinity there for four and "twenty years; and that but for the small stipend of 20*l.* "a year. And being now grown old, when he should have "expected some recompense of his labours from him, their "Chancellor, a man himself of learning, and a patron of "learned men, that it should now fall out to him quite "contrary; *viz.* that his fame should be called in question "before his Honour. But still that it comforted him, that "he had to do with a person of so wise and solid a judg-"ment: hoping he would reserve one ear for him." This was the sum of what he wrote to the Lord Burghley, modestly and yet earnestly, as his reputation and necessity urged him to do. The whole letter, for a memorial of the man, and of the truth of his case, I have preserved among the rest of the original papers. N. XXVIII.

Their proceedings with Baro disliked by their Chancellor, in his letter to them.

What effect this letter of that learned Professor had with that Lord, may be understood by some short contents of what he writ to the Heads, upon consideration of their dealings with him. For there remain some short sentences

in the Trinity college MS. of the Chancellor's letter to them, in reference to their so rigorous proceedings with that Professor; and in putting interrogatories to him, as though he were some great offender. Which interrogatories may be seen in the Appendix. "I am sorry to hear, &c. The mat- "ters I cannot conceive as others take them, &c. The doc- "trine dangerous and offensive, &c. Broached and pub- "lished by, &c. Whereby came to the Queen," &c. [These were some of their accusations of Baro in their letter to him, the Chancellor, which, he said, he *could not conceive as they took them.*] "As good and as ancient are of an- "other judgment, &c. *Omnia licent, at omnia non expe-* "*diunt*, &c. Ye may punish him, if ye will; but ye shall "do it for well doing, &c. in holding the truth, in mine "opinion. Ye sift him with interrogatories, as if he were "a thief, &c. This seems done of stomach among you, &c. "The witnesses do not agree." [Which he observed by the depositions (that were sent him) of a great many Bachelors of Divinity and some Masters of Art that heard Baro's *clerum.*] "If he hath done contrary to order and com- "mandment, in renewing therein," [*i. e.* controversies and contentions in those disputed points, prettily well quieted,] "he hath not done well. I will write to him myself, and "charge him as Chancellor," &c. [*i. e.* to forbear any further mentioning, either in his readings or disputations, those doctrines.]

Anno 1595. 473

What a check this discountenance of the Chancellor to the Heads gave in their dealings with Baro, might appear in that he still continued in his professorship till his resignation of it; as we shall hear under the next year.

Baro writes to Dr. Andrews about his case.

It must not be unmentioned, that to him, in the midst of his troubles, there were not wanting many in the University that favoured him and his cause; as Mr. Overal, Dr. Clayton, Mr. Harsnet, and Dr. Andrews, who was now with the Archbishop. To whom the said Professor now writ, to recommend his case to the Archbishop; who seemed not to be averse to the doctrine of universal grace, and of God's good-will to all mankind. For there was a good correspond-

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

ence between the said Dr. Andrews and him. In which letter of Baro's to him were several memorable matters mentioned relating to his own affair, as also to others, in the midst of these broils. Which may not be amiss to set down. His letter, which was dated January 20, began,

Quamvis nec ad me, venerande frater, scripseris, &c. In English, "Although, reverend brother, you have neither "writ to me, (as you could not by reason of the time,) nor "have made any mention of me when you writ to our "friend, Mr. Harsnet; yet I hope mine came to you: by "which I endeavoured to satisfy you, as to those letters "which, upon my departure, I received from you." [Wherein Dr. Andrews, it seems, had desired that learned man's judgment and resolution in some points of divinity now contested.] "And in which besides I included other things; "which I would by no means should be lost," &c.

Then he proceeded to give him some account of his appearance to answer for his sermon: *viz.* That he was sent for at last by Mr. Vice-Chancellor, with whom met also DD. Tyndal, Barwel, Clayton, and Mr. Chaderton; where the three articles gathered out of his sermon, and testified by some of St. John's college, and by the Vice-Chancellor, were exhibited against him. That concerning them he afterwards acknowledged they were spoken by him. That he was then interrogated by every one of them. That to some of their objections when he had answered, at last it was required of Mr. Overal, [who I think was now Regius Professor,] and who had been sent for by him, [Baro,] what he thought of it; he openly and freely professed his consent unto him in these things. And that when also Dr. Clayton, before this, had not obscurely favoured the same; this their consent seemed to him to have great weight. And that hereupon he departed quietly and friendly from them. But that, when the Vice-Chancellor had said that there might be another meeting, if need were, concerning this matter, for that all things could not be transacted at once; he thence conjectured, that it was likely the Vice-Chancellor had written to the Archbishop; from whom he expected

letters. Whom therefore if he [Dr. Andrews] would also certify of the whole matter, as it was managed, it would turn to their [*i. e.* his and his friends] advantage. For that if they [the Heads] would tarry for his Grace's letters, as in all other matters was done, neither should the truth be oppressed, nor the peace of the University be disturbed, as he said. 474

A dangerous book on these points, printed 1594.

Moreover, as he went on, he acquainted the said Doctor, that Mr. Overal, but the day before, had shewed him a book written in English, and dedicated to my Lord of Essex. Wherein these positions were openly taught and defended; *that Christ died for all, neither sufficiently nor efficaciously*, p. 19, 20, 21. And in the margin also, that *we must not pray for all men*, p. 130. Also, that *God willeth sin, and worketh it.* Which is more, saith he, than to permit or suffer it to be done; p. 123 *in fin. et seq.* 124. Where also, answering to this question, *whether God is the author of sin?* he saith, *he is not, and he is.* Which nevertheless after he endeavoureth to explain. And the book was printed at London, by the Widow Orwin, dwelling in Paternoster-Row, at the sign of the Talbot, 1594.

Perkins confutes Overal, who preached Christ died for all.

He further spake in his said letter of Mr. Perkins; who, he said, the Lord's day before, in his sermon, endeavoured to confute the reasons of Mr. Overal, which he had taught at his living, [in some church, I suppose, in Cambridge,] *that Christ died for all.* And that Overal desired it might be signified to him, [Dr. Andrews.] For that he had obtained, as Baro said, if he mistook not, from the Bishops of Canterbury and London, that those who contradicted him in his living, preaching *pro Christo*, [in vindication of Christ's merits,] should be repressed. Adding, that if such letters might be obtained to restrain this man, peace would be better provided for.

The Archbishop's mediation desired for stopping these doctrines.

" We, added our Professor, [in the name of himself and
" others, in the colleges, of his judgment,] desire all these
" things may be made known to my Lord of Canterbury:
" that he may understand this evil doth not only now creep
" into this kingdom and Church, but lifteth up its head, as is

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" publicly promulgated and defended, to the great reproach " of our religion. And hence it will come to pass, as we " hope, that then he will be more favourable to us, when " in a pious zeal and grief for this evil, we shall say some- " thing more ardently for defending of the truth. For it " doth not seem to be a time, said he, of holding one's " peace, if we desire to give a good account [of ourselves " and talents] to God."

He then added something concerning Dr. Some, a zealous man for the doctrines Baro opposed; and wished for the authority of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of the Bishop of London to be interposed, to move him.

And that if, at least, he [Dr. Andrews] could prevail, that Perkins, who declaimed against Overal, might be restrained, he should do an acceptable thing to both, and should confer a singular benefit upon him himself. For that the matter was common to them both, [Overal and Baro.] Dated from Cambridge, Jan. 20, 1595. And subscribed, *Tuus, P. Baro.*

Baro again writes to the Archbishop of his troubles.

Dr. Baro rubbed on in the months of February and March: but with much opposition and trouble; especially from two, *viz.* Dr. Goad and Mr. Chaderton, who indeed had divers years, before now, conceived a prejudice against him: and took this opportunity to endeavour to discharge him of his place, on the pretence, which they stuck to, that he had in his Latin sermon contradicted the Lambeth propositions, (whatsoever he pretended,) and so had been a raiser of stirs in the University. And this they had mightily endeavoured to possess the Archbishop with the belief of. Which caused the afflicted man to fly again to him, (whom he held always his patron,) with his apology and petition, still to be his great friend. For in this manner he addressed his Grace, the 4th of February:

Quum audiam, &c. " That when he heard that those " two persons, who chiefly attempted these things against " him, still went forward, moving every stone, to prove that " to be true which from the beginning, as was there re- " ported, they wrote to his Lordship, *viz.* that he made a

" sermon against six of the nine articles sent thither; he
" could not but fly to him, who was his friendly safeguard;
" that he might not be oppressed by their arts: which he
" wished to God were known to him. Therefore, not less
" humbly than earnestly, he besought him, that he would
" read something which here he should propound, and to 475
" permit his son [the bringer of his letter] to expound and
" read the rest (if need were) for his poor afflicted father.

" First, that they, (as his Grace knew well enough,) for
" many years past, had been evil affected towards him:
" and that for no other cause than that he approved of the
" rights and state of this Church, and acquiesced in it.
" Though one of them, *viz.* Mr. Chaderton, might have
" besides a special cause; namely, that he defended and
" shewed against him, that *faith was commanded by the*
" *law*, the book being dedicated to his Grace's name. And
" that hence certainly it was, that taking hold of this oc-
" casion from his sermon, they moved every thing against
" him. And that although they would seem to deal with
" him by law, they regarded not to retain the forms of law.
" For this one thing seemed enough to Mr. Vice-Chancellor,
" to have accusers and witnesses, that he might prove, that
" so and so he spake; (for that he would not deny;) but
" that what he said was against the articles, (which yet
" was the matter of law,) belonged to judges, and not to
" witnesses.

" That there were not a few other things which he passed
" over without mentioning them, that he might come to
" that which was the head of the whole matter, *viz.* that
" he said, first, that *God created all in Adam unto eternal*
" *life: nor drove away any from it, unless for sin.* Se-
" condly, that *Christ died sufficiently for all.* Thirdly, that
" *the promises made to us are general.* He told them, that
" indeed he spake these things, and added, that he believed
" they were true: yea, the very foundations of Christian
" religion. And that if it seemed otherwise to them, and
" that they would confer of these things with him, he pro-
" mised now to the Archbishop, that if they convinced him

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

" of any error, he would as willingly revoke it as he had " propounded it in his sermon.

" But perhaps this they did not so much care for: but " this one thing, added he, they should never prove true, " that he spake against the articles, unless they first " evinced that he spake that which was false: which he " hoped they should never do. Again, he asked, why " should they so much urge, that he spake against the " articles, when he said, openly in his sermon, that he " spoke against Piscator. From whose book, when he saw " it, as he said, to be read by, and in the hands of many, " he thought he had a just cause to say what he did against " him. And that his very accusers themselves had said, " that they did not like him. What therefore had he of- " fended, if he spake against some of his errors? Lastly, " that he could swear solemnly before his Lordship, that he " spake nothing directly or indirectly against the articles; " of which, unless he was mistaken, his Lordship himself " might be witness. For since they might be expounded " conveniently, he chose rather to do this than to draw " them to a strange sense, as some of them did; who " thought they could confirm all Piscator's sayings out " of them. But enough of this to you, my Lord, as he " concluded; for I know your prudence and integrity of " mind."

One particular more he related to the Archbishop, that whereas he had at first refused to deliver a copy of his sermon to the Vice-Chancellor, and that the Vice-Chancellor had sent for him again, and then absolutely by his authority commanded that he should deliver it to him; that no new occasion might be taken, he answered him, that he would willingly do it; and did it accordingly. And presently after, by the same authority, he was forbad, that by no means, either in his readings or disputations, he should so much as touch the matters controverted. Which he promised also that he would observe; but at the same time asked the Vice-Chancellor, that he would explain of what matters controverted he understood it. Which never-

theless was not defined by him. Though he thought the Vice-Chancellor meant it of those articles made at Lambeth. But, said Baro, [fearing some advantage might notwithstanding be taken against whatsoever he might read or say,] if we go by consequences, an occasion would easily be taken by one word. But he promised the Archbishop, that he would take as much pains and care as he possibly could, that even that might not happen. Anno 1595.

Wherefore he beseeched the most reverend Father again and again, and for his singular piety and good-will towards him, (who, he said, was his patron,) that he would determine concerning these things. But if yet, by reason of their accusations, any thing stuck in his mind, as though he had done contrary to his faith and promise, (which he would not willingly do,) that this at least remained, to which he fled for refuge; namely, to allow him once to have offended without punishment. To his Grace's mercy he betook himself. "I am alone," said he, "but you have been "hitherto my only Mæcenas and patron: and so for the time "to come, I hope, you will be. I therefore willingly com- "mit myself to you: praying and beseeching God Almighty "long to preserve you safe and sound, most reverend Fa- "ther in Christ, to this Church, Kingdom, University, and "to us also." Dated from Cambridge, the 4th of February, 1595. Subscribed, *Tui nominis et dignitatis studiosissimus, P. Baro.* 476 Flies to him for refuge.

I find little more of Dr. Baro's business at present, but that it pleased the Archbishop, on the last day of February, to write his letters to Hutton, Primate of the other province: wherein, among other things, he desired his opinion of Baro's assertions. When that Prelate in his answer shewed how little he liked of him and his learning; "wish- "ing that he were in his own country, and not to disturb "the peace of our Church. And would have one to be put "in his place, who was learned, godly, and mild of nature. "And that Cambridge afforded store of such." The Archbishop of York's counsel to our Archbishop about Baro.

But our gentle and good Archbishop thought not fit to use this extreme dealing with him; declining the counsel The Archbishop preserves him in place.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

of his brother of York, as well as all the solicitations of his enemies in the University: but stayed their hands from hurting him, either in his place or reputation; knowing well the learning and worth of the man. To whom therefore he had been a patron. He only gave him a charge to forbear those arguments that would provoke contentious disputations: that so peace might be preserved in the University, in order to the better flourishing of religion and learning there.

For which he returneth a letter of gratitude to him.

This occasioned another very humble letter of thanks from this grave man to his Grace, written towards the latter end of March: "Rendering the most reverend Father "immortal thanks for this reason, in that he hoped he was "snatched now at length by his favour from those disturb- "ances he was so pursued with before. For he observed, "that since the return of the Vice-Chancellor, [who it "seems had been with the Archbishop, and received his "instructions,] neither he nor any one else had spoken to "him of past matters: which he doubted not was done out "of a reverence towards him. For otherwise, as he con- "cluded, those who laboured this against him had very "hardly desisted, being those very persons who, if he mis- "took not, ten or eleven years ago, in a certain clandestine "synod at London, [held probably by Cartwright and his "followers,] (the acts whereof were with his Grace,) de- "creed certain things against him unheard. Concerning "which, when he had been certified by one Fontanus, he "presently took a journey to London, and complained to "Dr. Goad, who had been present at it in King's college "house, situate near the Thames; praying him that he "would at least shew him what they had decreed concern- "ing him or against him. Which, he said, he could not "obtain of him; nor knew, before Dr. Bancroft, by his "[the Archbishop's] command, shewed him in a certain "book three or four years ago.

A clandestine synod at London make certain decrees against Baro.

"And that it was from that time, as he continued his "discourse to the Archbishop, that they hating him, and "privily always observing him, took at last the occasion,

" from that sermon of his, to labour to cast him out of the CHAP. XVIII.
" University with shame. And which, he said, they had
" easily performed, (they had so prepared all things against Anno 1595.
" him,) unless they had been stayed by his Grace's author-
" ity, and as with a bridle restrained.

" Which benefit, my Lord, (as he proceeded,) I acknow-
" ledge, as I ought, I received from you: earnestly pray-
" ing, that if any thing be brought by them, especially
" concerning me, to your Lordship, you would also give
" me the hearing. For I will endeavour that you shall 477
" have no cause, I hope, to disapprove the course of my
" life and actions.

" He would not, he said, rub old sores, which he desired
" might be thoroughly healed: but yet, if his gentleness
" would give him leave, he would say but this; that those
" things which he spake in his sermon seemed indeed to
" him to be true; nevertheless, if he spake not the truth in
" its proper place and time, he prayed that, according to
" his Grace's benevolence, he would pardon it; and that
" he would persuade himself, that he was not stirred up to
" say those things which he did, from any other ground,
" than from a just indignation, as it seemed to him, against
" Piscator's book: which then he had newly read. Where-
" in nevertheless, as he added, if he had offended any thing,
" (which indeed he doubted not, he said, by what his son
" related to him from the Archbishop,) he beseeched him
" again and again to pardon him. Which if he should un-
" derstand that he had obtained from his clemency and
" goodness, he would thank God, and for the future be
" cautious: and would take the confidence to visit and pay
" his respects to his Lordship, as he was wont to do be-
" fore. In the mean time he prayed God long to preserve
" and protect him safe and sound to this kingdom, church,
" and them." Dated from Cambridge, the 22d of March, 1595.

These deep doctrines of *predestination*, in the two branches of it, *election* and *reprobation*, wanted some learned pen at this time, to confirm and satisfy better the Archbishop of York sends the Archbishop

BOOK IV.

minds of men in. For this cause Hutton, before mentioned, Archbishop of York, in the month of March, sent up to our Archbishop a small treatise of that subject, prepared, as it seems, at his request, in order to the getting it published by the Archbishop's own procurement. And the author, fearing lest the copying of it might not be without many errors, when it should be by him committed to print, prayed his Grace to let some be employed therein that was learned, and especially well read in Augustin: whom God had used, he said, as a special instrument to set forth that comfortable doctrine: and further desired, that certain lines which he sent in a paper inclosed, where he had treated of the definition of *fides*, Hebr. xi. might be inserted in the right place. And added, that he hoped, when it was published, that few would greatly dislike it, if they understood it. He reckoned, nevertheless, that he was to hear that the Court should boil at the doctrine of *predestination:* [meaning the disgust his discourse thereof, as he had stated it, was like to give there.] But he added, that it might be, when they should see that he, his Grace of Canterbury, and he, [his Grace of York,] agreed in all points, (which would be, he said, if his Grace published this treatise,) they would take better liking of it. And added, that he did not think they two dissented at all from St. Augustin. This was dated from Bishopsthorp, the 14th of March, 1595.

Anno 1595. a treatise of predestination.

The pious Archbishop's great concern was still for the good estate of this Church, and for the credit and reputation of those that served in it. Not a few reports came still to the Court of the increase of Popery, and of the want of preachers, to instruct and arm the common people with good principles against their revolting from our holy reformed religion. Complaints of this nature were brought out of the northern parts. And some reflections were made hereupon, upon the Archbishop of that province; and that he had made some unworthy men Ministers; and that he was negligent in procuring a sufficient number of learned Clergymen, fit and able to preach the Gospel: whereby it

The Archbishop inquires of the Archbishop of York about preachers in the north.

came to pass, that recusants rather increased than diminished. Our Archbishop, excited by these reports, which came plentifully to his ears, in the abovesaid letter to that Archbishop, acquainted him with these matters, which so nearly touched him and the discharge of his pastoral care. And desired to know indeed what number of preachers they had with them, and what recusants: and withal shewing him certain complaints made against him by the Sandes; the children, I suppose, and executors of his predecessor of that name: between whom, in his life-time, and the said Archbishop Hutton, when Dean of York, there had been, divers years before, no good understanding. Anno 1595. 478

The Archbishop of York's answer;

To all this brotherly and friendly information of our Archbishop, his said brother of York gave him particular answers in a letter, dated in March, to this purport; (first thanking him heartily for his kind letter;) That as to his conferring Orders upon such bad men, as was suggested, he did not remember it. But that he had heard, [which might give occasion to the rumour,] that two or three had counterfeited his hand and seal; and were fled out of that country. That as for preachers, there were many good ones in the bishopric of Durham; but that in Northumberland there were but few: assigning a reason thereof to be, because the greatest livings, which were in the Queen's hands, were let to fermours, who would not contribute any thing to a preacher. That in his diocese (which he thanked God for) were good store. And that he had about him [as his Chaplains] some godly learned preachers: but yet the fewer, because he had not given one benefice or prebend in five years last past. That for recusants in those quarters, he had sent up a certificate of them lately to the Lord Treasurer; and writ to him [apprehending the great danger from them] that he was afraid, that the ripeness of sin in all estates would shortly concur with the fulness of time which God had appointed to visit the people *in virga;* praying God it might not be *in virga ferrea.* But whereas the fault was commonly then laid upon the Clergy, he applied that of Tertullian, that if any mishap fell, they were

Giving account of his province.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

wont to cry, *Christiani ad bestias.* And so now, for every offence done, the quarrel is with the Clergy. And lastly, for his more private matter with the Sandes, he said, that he doubted not but his Grace would be satisfied, and they also, in time. And that he knew well, that neither he nor others did escape evil tongues. But let us, said he piously, study to have a good conscience toward God, and then his will be done. Ending with this sentence, *Arbitrii nostri non est, quid quisque loquatur.*

The Archbishop desires the Archbishop of York's judgment of the propositions.

One thing more our Archbishop imparted the same time to the Archbishop of York: which was concerning the Lambeth propositions. Which still occasioned much talk and resentment to many. And the Archbishop himself seemed to have been censured, by some great persons, for the countenancing of them. This he signified to that Archbishop: and as he had some months before, now again desired his second and mature thoughts of them: upon whose learning, having been formerly long the Public Reader of Divinity in Cambridge, he much depended. Whereupon he retired from York to his seat of Bishopsthorp, according to our Archbishop's motion; and after some time, having considered the points again, with his answer, he sent them back, and wrote, "that he took them to be true, as they "were penned at first." [For the Archbishop now sent them to him, not only to review, but to make some alterations in them, to render them the less offensive, if he thought necessary.] "Only, in his opinion, it were well, if "*necessariò* and *si voluerint* were put out; for then *minus* "*offenderet.* And if these words, *vocatus secundum propo-* "*situm*, were put into another. Then, *ipse momus non ha-* "*beret quod contra diceret.* And so praying God to bless "him with his manifold graces." This was dated from Bishopsthorp, March the 14th, 1595. Subscribing,

"Your Grace's most assured,

"Matth. Ebor."

CHAP. XIX. 479

Dr. Whitaker dies. The Archbishop's esteem of him. Desires his notes. The Vice-Chancellor's letter to him about Whitaker's death. His places vacant; filled. Overal chosen Public Professor. The Archbishop's doubt of him, as factious. His opinion of the propositions. The Archbishop sends for Covel, for an offensive sermon at St. Mary's. The Archbishop agrees with Broughton about the descent into hell. *His relation to the Archbishop about what passed him at Geneva, with Beza and others. The reasons they were displeased with him. The Archbishop's foundation of his hospital at Croydon. The poor of the hospital of Herbaldown petition him. His care of the poor of Kent upon a dearth.* Confirmations *and* consecrations *of Bishops.*

SOON after Dr. Whitaker's return home from Lambeth, he sickened and died, as was mentioned before. Whose death somewhat weakened the endeavours that were to be used for the promoting the propositions in the University, being chiefly of his framing, and to be maintained by his learning. By his decease the Queen's professorship of divinity, and the mastership of St. John's college, became void. In the filling of both which places the Archbishop concerned himself, as we shall see presently.

Anno 1595. Dr. Whitaker dies.

The Archbishop had a great esteem for him, and was much concerned at the loss of him, knowing how useful a man he was for his learning, and what good he had done, and might have done, both in his readings and in his writings, against the Church of Rome, and in vindication of our reformed Church. Concerning which the Archbishop seemed to have some further work for him to do. And whereas he had some things under his hand against Dr. Stapleton, the Jesuit, that had writ against this Church, the Archbishop had such a value for them, though unfinished, that he was, after his death, very desirous to have his rough notes and papers at any rate. And the Queen also had such an esteem for the man, that

The Archbishop concerned for his death.

BOOK IV.

she intended to have his library herself. Concerning which thus did the Archbishop write his mind unto Dr. Nevile, Master of Trinity college, December 8. "That Mr. Whit-

Anno 1595.

"aker's death did affect him exceedingly in many respects: "he being a man whom he loved, he said, very well, and that "he had purposed to have employed him in matters of great "importance. That at his last being with him, he signified "unto him [the Archbishop] what things he had in hand "touching Stapleton. And therefore that he was very de- "sirous to have his notes and writings, as well concerning "that matter, as other things. And prayed the Doctor, "to whom he writ, to procure them if he could. And that "he would consider those that had the doing in those "causes to their contentation. And that although he "might in some sort require them, yet he would forbear so "to do; and hoped that they would of courtesy not deny "unto him this request. That he was informed, and he "thought it to be true, that her Majesty intended to stay "his library for herself. But that his written books and "papers were no part thereof."

The Vice-Chancellor informs the Archbishop thereof.

The Vice-Chancellor, among other matters, in a letter dated January 13, informed the Archbishop of the good success of the propositions brought down to them by the said Whitaker, and of his death immediately thereupon; comparing it with old Simeon's satisfactory departure. He

480 mentioned to his Grace the thanks, that by a former letter he and the Heads of colleges had returned him (as there was, he said, great cause) for the great care and travail his Grace with others had bestowed, for the ending the new and troublesome controversies, there risen, about some points of religion. And that hereunto it pleased God, the rather by the means of his dear brother now with God, Dr. Whitaker, (who, as he added, seemed after that weighty business so well finished, so soon as he returned home, to sing with Simeon, *Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine*, &c.) to give so good and peaceable an issue; for the comfortable preservation and confirmation of the long received truths, in the fundamental points of the Gospel, with so good

and honourable consent. Which happy success, as he subjoined, declared unto them partly by the propositions themselves they had received, partly by his Grace's letters, whereby was signified how greatly he tendered the peace of the Church, and namely of the University; while he had earnestly required that they should have especial care not to suffer any thing to be publicly taught to the contrary. And that in teaching the truth in those points, there should be discreet and peaceable moderation used, without any personal invectives. Which grave instructions were accordingly communicated to the Heads, as hath been shewn before.

Dr. Clayton recommended by the Archbishop for Master of St. John's.

Another matter therefore now in agitation at Cambridge was, for filling up with fit men the places of Dr. Whitaker deceased. Wherein the Archbishop, out of his concern for the good estate of the University, did interpose himself. The mastership of the college fell to the lot of Dr. Clayton, Master of Magdalen college: in whose behalf he had sent a letter to the Vice-Chancellor: as also, both him and Mr. Stanton the High Chancellor had recommended, by the Vice-Chancellor and Heads, to the election of the house. The former whereof, with the general consent of the society, was chosen December 21. And thereupon presently he was brought that evening to the Vice-Chancellor, to take his oath before the society also present: as the said Vice-Chancellor signified to the Archbishop, and expressed how right glad he was of this end, and of his preferment.

Overal is made Public Professor.

The Public Professor's place fell to Mr. Overal of Trinity college; whom Dr. Nevile, the Master of that college, and Dean of Peterborough, had propounded as a man well qualified for that place: yet whose opinion in those beforesaid controverted points differed (as was better known afterwards) from that of the former Professor. The said Dr. Nevile, soon after the death of Dr. Whitaker, signified the fitness of that learned man to succeed him. What opinion others had of him appears by the answer the Archbishop gave him, in a letter dated December 8; *viz.* "That con-

The Archbishop's letter concerning him.

"cerning Mr. Overal, he very much relied upon the said

BOOK IV. Anno 1595.

" Nevyle's judgment in that case. Nevertheless that he " was informed by some others, that Mr. Overal was some- " thing factious, and inclined to that sect that loved to pick " quarrels to the present state and government of the " Church: though he hoped, he said, it was not true, be- " cause of Nevyle's commendation. The Archbishop added, " that he thought they should receive letters, in her Ma- " jesty's name, for due care to be had in electing a person " meet for that place. And that therefore he did assure him- " self, that they would be careful to provide such an one, as " should be in all points conformable."

What Dr. Overal's judgment was of such as were justified.

However clear Overal was of that charge mentioned before of the Archbishop, it appeared that his judgment did not fully square with those Lambeth propositions. For to take the matter from his own mouth, when at the conference at Hampton Court before King James, anno 1603, Dr. Reynolds had moved, that those nine *assertions* might be added to the book of the Thirty-nine Articles, the said Overal, (then Dean of St. Paul's, and one of the Divines present,) taking himself herein concerned, declared to the King, that in his readings in that University, he had asserted, " that whosoever (though being justified) committed any " grievous sin, as adultery, murder, treason, or the like, be- " came, *ipso facto*, subject to God's wrath, or guilty of " damnation, *quoad præsentem statum*, until they repented: " adding thereunto, that those which were called and justi- " fied according to the purpose of God's election (howsoever " they might and did sometimes fall into grievous sins, and
481 " thereby into a state of wrath and damnation, yet) did " never fall either totally from all the grace of God, so to " be utterly destitute of all the parts and seed thereof; nor " finally from justification. But in time renewed by God's " Spirit unto a lively faith and repentance: and so justified " from those sins, and the wrath, curse, and guilt annexed " thereto; wherein they were fallen, and wherein they lay. " Which doctrine, he added, some in the University disliked, " and had opposed; teaching that all such persons as were " once truly justified, though after they fell into never so

"grievous sins, yet remained still just, or in the state of "justification; and that before they actually repented of "those sins; yea, and though they never repented of them "through forgetfulness, or sudden death; yet they should "be justified, and saved without repentance."

The Lambeth assertions mentioned at the conference before King James.

Whereupon the King, not well knowing what this matter was, was informed, that these nine *assertions* were framed upon occasion of some controversies arising some years before about certain points of divinity. And that then his Grace the Archbishop assembled some Divines of special note to set down their opinions; which they drew out into these heads: and so he sent them to the University, for the appeasing of those quarrels. Upon the hearing whereof, and upon what Dr. Overal had said, the King would not admit those propositions to be entered among the Articles of Religion; his opinion being, (as he urged himself,) "that "the joining of repentance and holiness of life with true "faith was of necessity; and that it was hypocrisy, and "not true justifying faith, which was severed from them. "And that this and predestination and election did well "consist together."

The Archbishop sends for Covel, to appear before the ecclesiastical commission.

There was another University matter now came to the knowledge of the Archbishop. It was in the month December, that one Covel, Fellow of Queen's college, preached a sermon at St. Mary's, that created him some trouble before the Vice-Chancellor, or the ecclesiastical commission. His text was, *My house is the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves.* Whereupon he took occasion to rave and inveigh against those that did *facere speluncam latronum* of the Church, offensively and extraordinarily: charging the noblemen of this realm especially, and in sort also the bishops: in spoiling, he meant, the Church in the revenues thereof, and alienating its patrimony. This the Vice-Chancellor thought fit to take notice of; and did acquaint both the Chancellor of the University with it, and also the Archbishop. Who was minded therefore to bring Covel before the commissioners ecclesiastical for what he had said: and accordingly required the Vice-Chancellor to

BOOK IV.

send him up. But to this the Vice-Chancellor could not readily consent: yet giving this modest answer, That his Grace might do therein what seemed best unto him. But, if it might please his Grace, herein to spare and pardon him, for that the precedent might be hardly thought of, as a breach of their privileges, and as things fell out, he feared would occasion some discontents. And that he would call him before himself, and such Heads as were at home; and prove rather, how they could bring him to a voluntary satisfaction herein: to which the mild Archbishop, in condescending terms, gave this answer, That he was no otherwise desirous to have him sent up to Lambeth, than he, the Vice-Chancellor, should think it convenient. And that he had rather they should make an end of it there, with some admonition to forbear such kind of declamations and slanderous imputations hereafter. But it seems Covel was somewhat obstinate to make any submission, or acknowledge a fault. For I find the Vice-Chancellor acquainting the Chancellor, that he could do but little with him at the first, the Heads being abroad from Cambridge in Christmas time. And that he had endeavoured to bring him, by counsel and persuasion, to make voluntary, convenient, public satisfaction: which he could not yet induce him to do.

Anno 1595.

Which the Vice-Chancellor refuses.

The Archbishop agrees with Broughton in the sense of the article of the Descent.

There happened now a better understanding between the Archbishop and the great Rabbin, Hugh Broughton. Who before, both by letters to his Grace, and in other of his letters and discourses, had very roughly, according to his rugged temper, treated him. One great cause whereof was, because the Archbishop came not up to his sense of that article of the Creed, of the *descent* of Christ into hell, (where-
482 of something was spoken before,) but had kept to the old received sense thereof. But upon scanning and weighing that learned man's proofs and arguments, fetched from his Greek and Hebrew studies, the Archbishop was convinced, and came into his interpretation of the said *descent*. For Broughton had composed an oration in Greek upon the true meaning of this article. Which he drew up for the use of the King of Scotland: who admired his studies, and had

sent for him into Scotland, to be his Professor there. This oration he sent first to the Archbishop; upon this occasion, that he might communicate it to Dr. Bilson, Dean of Winchester; who had interpreted the word ᾅδης, *i. e. hades*, (used by the Greek Fathers for the condition into which Christ, after he was crucified, went,) to be *ad inferos*, which he thought to be the *hell* of the damned: and had cited Athanasius for it, as the word was there wrongly translated into Latin: though Athanasius, he said, in twenty places of equal force, telleth, that Christ went to holy Adam and the martyrs; who all went down to ᾅδης. And in none of these places *hades* was *hell*. That so the Archbishop might advise Dr. Bilson to call in his libel; as he called a book written, as it seems, against him.

Anno 1595.

Sends an oration in Greek to the Archbishop on that argument.

Broughton had also, in another letter to the Archbishop, shewed, that *hell*, in our divinity and translations of the Old Testament, interpreted but שאול, *sheol*, which requires all to come, [as that word in the Hebrew signifieth,] and ᾅδην, *i. e.* the *world unseen*. And that generally *hell* is that world that *haleth* all hence; whether joy of *paradise* or torment of *gehenna* be their lot there. And again, that *hell* must be taken, as in old Saxon, (when they knew no *gehenna*,) for the *state* after this life. And that *sheol* sixty-four times coming into the holy tongue, *hell* is as often used in our translation, and never directly for *gehenna*. Neither should *hell* in the Creed mean any thing else, but the *world to come*, the *world of souls*. As likewise, added he, *hell* came nine times upon ᾅδης in the New Testament, but neither in all those places signifying *gehenna:* as twelve times *gehenna* is met with; and there, said he, *hell* is in your Grace's meaning.

In another letter to the Archbishop gives the sense of the word *hell*.

The Archbishop being satisfied in this point, told as much to Dr. Geffry King, (who brought over from Broughton, then beyond sea, the Greek oration abovesaid to the Archbishop,) and he reported soon after unto him, that the Archbishop had yielded unto him. And that he should write letters to him from a mind no further displeased; and that he offered him a preferment, if he liked it. And that

The Archbishop's kind message to Broughton by Dr. King.

BOOK IV.

notwithstanding the evil messages which were brought, he never spake against him, nor hindered his preferment. Whereupon Broughton used these words, "That all opin-
Anno 1595. "ions examined, this standeth by all, that our Lord "went hence to paradise. That being granted, all super- "fluity will vanish, and we cherish unity in the band of "peace; since the most reverend Father, Dr. Whitgift, "yielded. I turn from his Honour, as he added, all blame "printed by me or written, upon such as misused his au- "thority: who, as occasion serveth, may be considered. "He himself [meaning the Archbishop] and Mr. King sa- "tisfy me, that he resisteth me not. And I provoke no "man; and hope that I have quieted this controversy, that "the English Creed may speak as the Greek meaneth."

His letter to the Archbishop concerning Geneva matters.

Broughton, in his rambles beyond sea, came to Geneva, where he went for his health, as he wrote; falling sick in Helvetia. Of his being there, and concerning what happened to him from Beza, the chief minister there, and the senate, he wrote a large relation to our Archbishop, which I esteem very well worthy setting down; having a respect to many of the controversies here at home. That after some time recovering his health, he went out to buy an Hebrew comment Bible for one of the students that travelled with him. But Beza told him, he should not abide there above four days, because, said he to him, our schools *nihil habent egregium*, meaning it by way of reflection upon Broughton, who had expressed himself to some such disparaging purpose concerning their schools and divinity. For before he came thither, being at Bazil, he had taken the liberty to speak publicly against Calvin and Beza; and some of their principles in divinity, and their faulty interpretations of Scripture. While he was at Geneva,
483 soon after he had been with Beza, the Hebrew Professor there moved for a dispute; because Broughton had differed from Calvin about the sense of the word *hell* in the article. To which motion he answered, that he came not thither to teach them; but that he approved of the Tigurine assertion; which was, that Christ went to paradise: so it seems the

Divines of Tigur or Zurich held. But, replied the other, *descendere sic erit ascendere, et inferi paradisus, tuæ phantasiæ.* To which our countryman only answered, *Indocta sunt hæc:* that is, that these speeches shewed his and their ignorance; and that he would not further reason with him, but left him unanswered.

Some chief persons of Geneva visit him.

He added, in his relation to the Archbishop of these occurrences at Geneva, that one Dr. Lexius came to him that day with great desire to welcome him, who was Town Recorder, or Counsellor; and likewise another, Monsieur Faius, a grave man, who offered him all the Greek authors he had, to use; and one that had never joined with Broughton's adversaries. That he was also by some solicited to teach Hebrew privately in the same town. But Grineus, by Beza's consent, seeing that, and one Pinot, a Preacher, that could not, saith Broughton, speak Latin, run to the Syndic with this complaint, that one would stay in their town, that was driven to flee from England. And that he had writ to one gladly, that the Queen was past recovery: and therefore that he should come quickly to him. And that he also taught, that God made souls of his own substance: and that he was hated all over England. And on the next morning, the Syndic's son (who was his scholar) told him, that the senate was minded to send him into England: willing, as it seems, to take up any flying reports against that very learned man; being desirous to be rid of one who thwarted their opinions and their Church's discipline. Broughton, upon this, bade him tell his father thus, " If you despise *Deum Xenium, God the defence of* " *strangers,* and cannot use them well, you shall feel whe- " ther others can stir in England and Scotland, and me " also, to your harm." This the young man told his father, and his father the senate. The senate, upon this, said, they had heard rare reports of him; and that this answer of his shewed circumspection.

Discourse with them about Calvin and

He further, in his letter to the Archbishop, acquainted him, " how they were in atheism that said, he should as- " sert that *God made souls of his own substance.* He said

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

Beza's doctrines, particularly that of reprobation.

" no, he held not God divisible, nor a tormentor of himself.
" That such badness [bad principles] was fittest for check-
" ers of the Scripture's texts. That he had shewed them a
" book of Barlow's of *Turco-Calvinism*, [William Barlow,
" I suppose,] grating thereby upon Calvin and Beza's doc-
" trines of *fatality* and *absolute* reprobation." In this dis-
course with them, they, knowing that a learned Jew of Constantinople, called Abraham Ruben, having heard the fame of him in rabbinical learning, had sent him an Hebrew epistle, to instruct him in the religion of Jesus Christ, desired him to inform them what that Jew's epistle contained; and how he would answer him; and by what studies, and in what difference from Calvin and Beza's doctrines, whom they saw well he differed from. " Here (as
" he proceeded in his relation of these matters to the Arch-
" bishop) he shewed them two differences of theses: That
" eternal election the Scripture teacheth, and the Jews ac-
" knowledge. And that God ruleth the world, to invite all
" to life: but giveth not his Spirit to more than by afflic-
" tion he bringeth to himself. That a Jew would say, re-
" jection and predestination to destruction differ much: for
" predestination ruleth the means to furtherance; and that
" the Scripture hath not the phrase. That of open wicked
" it is said, *God setteth them to wrath*, and *sheweth his*
" *glory in them*. But as Paul, (he told them,) Rom. ix.
" had not one phrase, but from Exod. ix. and Deutr. xxix.
" from Job, in God's speech there, and from Esay xxviii.
" and xl. and from Malachi; so we might not herein make
" new phrases. And that if he should go beyond Jews' and
" Greeks' phrases, he should mar all: girding at Calvin
" and Beza their phrases and terms to explain their no-
" tions. And that the Apostles never used a strange phrase
" nor a strange word, but in composition easy. And Job xi.
" was cited by him to check Maimony for meddling with
" this question, Why did God give laws to the wicked,
" when he knew what they would do? His commentator
484 " saith, *He hath broken the ancient custom*. And that the
" height of heaven and depth of *sheol*, the sea's breadth

" and the earth's length, may sooner be comprehended, " than God's counsel for rejection. And here he said no " more, but only that Scripture's words must be spoken : " and that these words, 1 Pet. ii. ἀπειθοῦντες εἰς ὃ καὶ ἐτέθη- " σαν, i. e. *disobeying that to which they were set;* and those " in Jude, πάλαι προγεγραμμένοι εἰς τοῦτο τὸ κρίμα, i. e. *for-* " *merly written of for this judgment*, were not spoken of " working in the wicked, but of the godly."

Anno 1595.

Here the Syndic said to him, *Quid existimat Archiepiscopus*, &c. What the Archbishop of Canterbury thought concerning Calvin's opinion about the *descent ad inferos*, *i. e.* to hell. To which Broughton readily replied, that he [the Archbishop] thought nothing could be imagined more gross: and that well he might. Then he told the Archbishop of the treatise he had given to Beza against it: for which he sent, and highly commended it to the senate. He further shewed these Genevans, with whom he had all this conversation, (as he continued his foresaid letter,) that he must refuse Beza, [in respect of his notes upon the New Testament,] and must tell him of 20,000 words in the New Testament from the LXXII. unmarked of him; and the most not fitly expounded: adding, that Rabbins must be cited to prove all the New Testament. (And them Beza was charged to contemn.) And that most part of the New Testament translateth old godly Rabbin's phrases and rules. He added, and told them, that he must defend the New Testament to be pure in writ: because Beza had corrupted the same to great harm, [in altering words sometimes according to his imagination.] Upon these and such speeches they consulted long: and in the end they told him, that they left him to print, [if he minded to make use of their printing press.] And withal desired him to have no doing with their scholars. But he resolved he would print nothing upon others brawls, as he said.

The Genevans ask him the Archbishop's opinion of the descent into hell.

To understand yet better the displeasure of the Genevans against our said learned countryman, he signified to the Archbishop that he had answered some books of Beza's,

The reasons of their displeasure at him.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

and had sent letters thereof to him. And how, upon this, the senate had blamed their Professors, and termed them arrogant, unlearned, envious, and slanderers: because they were not able to maintain the disputation, which, it seems, Broughton had held in the schools of Helvetia. He had also spoken against Calvin for his misinterpretation of Daniel's image, Dan. ii. and of the fourth beast, Dan. vii. And especially in regard that he had spoken words against their discipline, saying, that no new discipline was invented by the Apostles; nor that any thing was by them newly brought in, contrary to the custom of the synagogue, except Baptism and the Supper; concerning which there was no controversy. He had also blamed their other eminent Minister, Beza, for mending of the text, [as he took the liberty sometimes to do upon his own conjectures:] and that he held him the worst [interpreter] in the world for his unlearnedness. He meant surely in respect of his deficiency in Hebrew and Jewish learning, to enable him to make annotations upon the Scripture. And he further and further shewed the Genevans, that he had caused [those students in] Basil in open disputation and print to condemn him. And that he himself had blamed him in seven tongues: writing, it seems, against him in so many learned and other modern languages, to expose his errors. He added further, that Beza himself knew thirty students of Germany, then at Geneva, that were resolved, if he [Broughton] could be permitted to come thither, to request him to profess, [*i. e.* divinity, or the tongues.] And that Boreel, a scholar of his, had talked with Beza of the Rabbins: wherein Beza said he had no skill; and dryly smiled at his said scholar's commendation of them; [as despising that sort of learning, which Broughton could not digest.]

All this relation he made to the Archbishop, of what happened before his going to Geneva, as well as what fell out to him while he was there. And in the end he prayed his Grace, that he would let this letter of his be printed, that in the Archbishop's denial of his speaking against him,

[Broughton,] and herein [by this letter to him] he might be known, His Grace's, *usque ad aras.* Subscribing, *H. Broughton.*

Anno 1595

Yet notwithstanding this good mood and present friendly correspondence, I am afraid we shall find hereafter some misunderstanding again in him towards the Archbishop, and some displeasure taken still at something of his Grace's behaviour towards him; as hindering him of the bishopric of London, upon the next vacancy by the death of Bishop Ælmer, and also in opposing his new intended translation of the Bible into English: as we shall see in its proper time and place. 485

This year the Archbishop began to found his hospital, to be named by the name of the Holy Trinity of Croydon: and had the Queen's letters patents for licence to erect the same: beginning, *Elizabetha, Dei gratiâ, &c. salutem. Cum reverendissimus in Christo Pater, perdilectus consiliarius noster, Johannes Whitgift, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus, &c. perpendens mortales omnes in hoc mundo positos, ut Dei Omnipotentis gloriam illustrent, ac humano generi, quàm maximè prosint, illamque maximam beneficentiam meritò censendam esse, non quæ fluxæ istius ac labilis humanæ vitæ angustis terminis continetur; sed quæ in miseros et egenos Christianos, ipsius Jesu Christi Salvatoris nostri mystica membra, ad diuturnitatem per omnes succedentium sæculorum ætates (modò Deo ita videatur) propagatura utiliter poterit: ptochodochium quoddam, sive hospitale pauperum intra villam de Croydon in comitat. nostro Surreiæ, de mundanis suis facultatibus, quas Deus ei, tanquam dispensatori, concredidit, fundare, erigere, dotare, et in perpetuum stabilire statuerit; nostro prius regio assensu ad id exhibito; quam humiliter ac dimissè à nobis petierit: sciatis igitur,* &c.

Begins the foundation of his hospital. MSS Lambeth, fol. N. p. 275.

Hanc copiam ex proprio originali suo extractam collationavi; et cum eodem concordare inveni. M. M. Thus subscribed by Murgatrode, the Archbishop's secretary. The preamble drawn up, no doubt, by the Archbishop's own pen. But this hospital was not finished till the year 1599,

BOOK IV.

when it was consecrated by Bancroft, Bishop of London, as we shall see when we come so far.

Anno 1595.

The hospital of Herbaldown wronged, apply to the Archbishop.

There was another hospital, of an ancient foundation in Kent, the inspection whereof belonged to the Archbishop, called the hospital of St. Nicolas, at Herbaldown, for brethren and sisters; now greatly wronged. Insomuch that the poor people thereof made an humble petition to our Archbishop this year, that they might be relieved from the wrong done them by one Mr. Norton, a rich man. Their case was this: They had certain wood, as they set forth in their petition, growing by the highway side of their woods; which they had caused to be felled this year, as at many times heretofore: and had sold the same, as they thought they had a right to do, and lawfully might do. And yet, notwithstanding, the said Norton had caused some of the same to be carried away by his fermours or tenants; to the poor hospital's hinderance, or the hinderance of those to whom they sold the same. And whereas Mr. Hale, and others of might, had in like manner felled their woods thereabouts growing, without their main woods, by the way side, as theirs of the hospital were; yet, by reason of their might, the said Norton meddled not with theirs: although, if he had any right to meddle with the hospital woods, he had as much right to theirs; as they set forth in their petition. But for that they were poor, and of no ability, he was bold to offer them injury. "Wherefore their "humble petition to his Grace (under whose wings of "protection and defence, in all their rightful causes, they "were shrouded, and hoped to be defended) was to crave "his lawful favour herein; that the said Mr. Norton might "shew unto his Grace by what right he took from them "the said woods; and would not permit them, as they "thought they ought, to enjoy their said benefit without "molestation: and that he might restore them again the "same; which, without right or conscience, he had taken "from them, as they were certainly persuaded. And that "in the doing thereof they should receive the more com-"fort and quiet: and should, as they were ever bound,

Epistol. Whitg. penes Rev. Tho. Bret, LL. D.

" with one heart and voice praise God for his Grace, and " daily pray for his honourable and gracious prosperity," &c. Subscribing themselves,

" Your Grace's most humble suppliant orators, the " Brothers and Sisters of your hospital of St. " Nicolas, at Herbaldown."

The Archbishop, tenderly affected towards these poor people's complaint, undertook their cause; and despatched a letter in April to Mr. John Bois, a counsellor at law, his steward in those parts of his diocese, inclosing their petition therein; praying him to consider what course were best to be taken for relief in this cause, and to inform him thereof accordingly; if before next term any thing might be done for their relief in this case. " I would have no " time, writeth the good Archbishop, foreslowed, but pre- " sently have Mr. Norton dealt withal. I neither may nor " mean to suffer these poor souls to be wronged by him. " Adding, that rather than he should abuse them in any " such manner as this, he would himself be at the charge " in law, to make trial of their right. And so not doubting " of his care herein, he committed him to God." Dated from Lambeth, the 9th of April. And by a postscript, all of his own hand, he prayed Mr. Bois to call for Mr. Norton, or his fermour, and to know of them upon what ground they offered this wrong. And that he had promised to have come unto him, or this, about some former wrongs, but that he heard not of him; which, he said, he took not in good part. Thus did our right Christian Bishop readily interpose himself a patron in behalf of the poor household of faith against those that were too strong for them. 486 The Archbishop espouseth their cause.

This year was a great dearth, and corn bore so high a price at the markets, that the poor suffered much, and particularly in Kent, the Archbishop's diocese. For the redress whereof a means was devised, by raising a good sum of money by a charitable contribution of the richer sort; and therewith to buy a good stock of corn at the dear price current; and that to be brought to the market, and there The Archbishop with the Privy Council devise against a dearth in Kent.

BOOK IV.

sold at a cheaper rate. Whereby the poor might be able to supply themselves, and the price of corn sink in the markets. For this purpose a letter was drawn up, dated at the Court at Greenwich, May 25, and sent from the Privy Council there to Sir Edward Wotton, High Sheriff of the county, and Sir Edward Hoby, *Custos Rotulorum*, to call together the Justices of the peace, for their setting this matter speedily and effectually on foot; with the help and furtherance of the Ministers and Preachers, to excite and stir up the people of the better sort to this religious good work. To this letter I find the Archbishop's hand signed, with the rest of the Privy Counsellors. Whom therefore I am apt to conclude to have been the main mover of it. The said letter ran to this tenor:

Anno 1595.

Their letter to the High Sheriff and *Custos Rotulorum*. MSS. penes Rev. T. Bret, LL. D.

"For that it was generally understood, in that time of "dearth of grain, either that the markets were not served "with sufficient quantity of grain for the necessity of the "people, or else that such as was brought to the market "was held at so high prices, as the poor people could not "be relieved of their necessity; whereby great inconve- "nience might fall; which they [of the Privy Council] re- "quired to be foreseen: and therefore required them, the "Sheriff and *Custos Rotulorum*, or their deputy of that "county, to procure presently some meeting of a conve- "nient number of the Justices of peace, in their ordinary "places of assembly, and to impart to them these their "letters. By which they [the Privy Council] required them "to devise by charitable persuasions to every man, as well "others as the Justices, being of wealth and ability, to "contribute some reasonable portion of money according "to their devotion, and as charity required under this time "of dearth. Which portions and contributions, being re- "duced to some good quantity of money, they wished might "be presently employed to the buying of a reasonable quan- "tity of grain, (though it were at great prices,) such as the "people had most need of: and the same to cause to be, "by some special persons that might be trusted therewith, "carried to the markets; and there to be sold at reason-

" able prices, under the high prices of the markets, to such " as should have most need thereof. CHAP. XIX.

" And by this order, if the same should be faithfully and Anno 1595.
" charitably executed, (whereto they wished that such as
" were ecclesiastical persons and preachers of the country
" might be moved, to intreat the wealthy persons to con-
" tribute,) they hoped that both poverty should be provided
" for, and likewise the high prices should fall.

" That for some farther remedy thereof, besides this, 487
" they thought that if in every market some well affected
" Justice of peace might be present, the same might charit-
" ably move and exhort the bringers and sellers of corn
" to abate their prices; or at least to charge them earnestly
" not to increase the prices from henceforth above the
" prices for the which they themselves had, in the begin-
" ning of the year, sold the same: considering there could
" be no good reason alleged why they themselves should
" so increase the prices. And thus expecting their extra-
" ordinary care in the good accomplishment hereof, and
" their present answer, they bade them very heartily well
" to fare. From the Court at Greenwich, the xxv day of
" May, 1595." Subscribing,

" Your very loving friends,

" Jo. Cant. Jo. Puckering, C. S. W. Burghley, Essex,
" C. Howard, T. Buckhurst, Ro. Cecyl, T. Heneage,
" J. Fortescue."

According to which letter, when the Sheriff and the *Custos Rotulorum* had imparted the contents of it to the Justices of the lath of St. Augustine's, the Archbishop's Suffragan Bishop of Dover, and Dean also of his church of Canterbury, forthwith piously moved Mr. Bois, the Archbishop's steward there, to put this matter in speedy execution, by his letter in these words:

" Sir,

" The matter required of us in these inclosed letters is The Suffragan of Dover's letter hereupon. *Ubi supra.*
" so charitable, and needful on our parts to be performed,
" that I wish there might be a present meeting of us, the

BOOK IV. Anno 1595.

" Justices of this lath, for the speedy performance of it;
" *lest while the grass grow, the horse starve.* I pray you
" therefore to take order for the meeting accordingly. And
" so I heartily recommend you to the grace of the Almighty.
" This 5. of June, 1595.

" Your, &c.

" Ri. Dover."

Which letter I the rather add, as some character of this Right Rev. Suffragan.

Chaderton translated to Lincoln. Regist. Whitg.

Bishops translated or consecrated to several sees this year were as follow. William Chaderton, Bishop of Chester, to be Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of St. Mary, Lincoln, was confirmed May the 24th.

Morgan, Bishop of Landaff.

The confirmation of the election of William Morgan, S. T. P. to be Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of Landaff, was on July the 18th. And his consecration July the 20th following, by the Archbishop, Richard Bishop of London, John Bishop of Rochester, and William Bishop of Norwich, assisting.

Day made Bishop of Winton.

The confirmation of William Day for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, Winton, was performed the 22d of January: and he was consecrated on Sunday following, being January the 25th, by the Archbishop; Richard Bishop of London, and John Bishop of Rochester, assisting. The instrument for the induction or installation of the same Bishop was directed April 14, 1596, to John Ebden, S. T. P. William Barlow, S. T. B. and William Say, LL. B. Canons Residentiary of the said church of Winton.

Vaughan made Bishop of Bangor.

Richard Vaughan, S.T.P. Archdeacon of Middlesex, was elected Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of Bangor: whose election was confirmed the 22d of January this year, 38 Eliz. in the church of St. Mary le Bow, before Richard Cosin, LL. D. the Archbishop's Vicar General. Present at this confirmation, Julius Cæsar, LL. D. one of the Masters of Requests to the Queen, John Lloyd, Tho. Rydley, and Richard Trevor, LL. DD. William Wilson, ...Withers,

S. T. PP. Edward Wickham, Morice Roberts, Clerks, MM. A. Robert Parker, William Cox, Paul Wentworth, and Edmund Duffield, Gentlemen, Will. Portbury, Roger Cole, &c. Public Notaries, William Grindal, Gentleman Apparitor, with many others in great number assembled. The said Vaughan was consecrated January 25, in the chapel of Lambeth, by the Archbishop, Richard Bishop of London, and John Bishop of Rochester, assisting. Anno 1595.

The Archbishop granted a licence, April 5, 1595, to Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, to confirm and consecrate Toby Matthew, S. T. P. Dean of Durham, for Bishop of the said cathedral church, in an oratory within his province of Canterbury. 488 Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham.

The Earl of Hertford was this year committed to the Tower, for some fault which the Queen was much displeased with him for. It seems to have been for marrying Frances, widow of Henry Praner, Esq. without her Majesty's knowledge or leave. After his humble submission and supplication to her for pardon and recovery of her favour, her pleasure was, that he should be commanded to the Lord Keeper, and not to his own house; as Sir Rob. Cecyl, her Secretary, signified to the said Lord, by his letter dated the 2d of June, 1595. In January following it was her pleasure, that the Earl should be removed from the Tower (whither it seems he was returned again) to the Archbishop's custody: for so the Secretary informed the Lord Keeper and the Lord Buckhurst in the beginning of January; *viz.* "That her Majesty had signed her warrant for the Earl of "Hartford's delivery. And because my Lord of Canter- "bury might have some time to prepare, she said, it might "well be done by eight of the clock: and then their Lord- "ships might order their speech to him; not as a discharge, "but as a mitigation." The Secretary further signified to those Lords, "that the Queen had commanded him to let "them know, that she was pleased that they should call "before them the Earl, and should, by virtue of her war- "rant, (which should be sent them,) deliver him out of the "Tower, and commit him to my Lord of Canterbury's The Earl of Hertford from the Tower committed to the Archbishop's custody. MSS. Puckring. Cust. Sig.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1595.

"house; there to remain, until he should hear further. "That they might tell him, that this favour was derived "from his submission: though neither in it nor with it her "Majesty was satisfied, as their Lordships should further "understand. But at present he [the Secretary] writ this "by her Majesty's command; lest he [Lord Buckhurst] "should be returned before he had the warrant. That her "Majesty's will also was, that my Lord's Grace might "know it; to the intent he might prepare to receive him. "And that further their Lordships must let him know, "that he should suffer the Earl to be at his own charge "and diet in his private chamber." Dated from the Court the 3d of January, 1595. He added, "that he would send "the warrant forthwith, when it was signed."

A severe punishment for this marriage fell also upon Dr. Montford, (who married the said Earl,) inflicted by the Archbishop himself; being performed without banns and without licence, in the Earl's house: as we shall relate under the year 1601.

489

CHAP. XX.

The Archbishop sends two circular letters to the Bishops; one for redemption of captives; the other for fasting and prayer, by reason of a dearth. Philips, Preacher at St. Mary Overy's, suspended. Orders made by the Archbishop, &c. for the commons of the students of Christ's Church, Oxon. Some Puritan Ministers pretend to cast out devils. Darrel, one of them, brought before the Archbishop and Commissioners. His story: imprisoned and deposed. Confirmations and consecrations of Bishops. Bishop Bilson; his writings. One Gerard recommended for Chester. A letter of foreign news sent to the Archbishop by Castoll, a French Minister.

Anno 1596. The Archbishop ap-

SAD was the condition of many of the English nation now in slavery under the Turk: insomuch that some of them

for very anguish renounced their Christian faith. For this cause the Archbishop was excited by letters from the Privy Council, dated in August, 1596, to forward a collection for the rescue of them, in the dioceses of his province; by sending letters to the respective Bishops, to promote this Christian work of charity. Which the good Archbishop accordingly did very earnestly: the tenor of whose letter was as followeth:

Anno 1596. points a collection for Turkish slaves.

His letter to the Bishops for that purpose. Regist. Whitg.

"That he had received letters from the Lords and others "of the Council, wherein they signified, that there were "eight Englishmen that were left by Captain Gleman in "Barbary, and were prisoners in Algiers, being there at "present in very miserable sort, until their ransoms were "paid. Others there were, that for want of grace, through "the great miseries they endured, became Turks. That "the cases of these men being very pitiful, their Lordships "had recommended the same to the Lord Mayor of Lon-"don and his brethren: and that they had caused a col-"lection to be made in London, that amounted to a very "small matter, in regard of the great sum that was de-"manded: such sums being demanded chiefly for some "piracy committed by Captain Gleman; who was since de-"ceased in so poor estate, that nothing could be gotten "that way for the relief of these men. That our country-"men, not enduring extreme misery in their persons in "prison, but in danger, by the example of the others that "were revolted from their faith, to become Turks too; "their Lordships desired, that he [the Archbishop] would "earnestly, and in their names, recommend the pitiful "state of these captives unto all the Bishops in the several "dioceses throughout his province; that there might be a "collection made in every diocese of the better sort of "people, for the delivery of these poor captives. And that "if the Preachers or Ministers, in their sermons and ex-"hortations, should set forth the miseries they endured, "and how charitable a deed it was to contribute towards "their relief; their Lordships doubted not, but that a suffi-"cient sum would be gathered to relieve them out of the

BOOK IV.

"thraldom, where they had these four years already re-
"mained.

Anno 1596.

"The money collected to be, from the ministers, preach-
"ers, and churchwardens, paid over unto the Bishops;
"and so to be sent unto him [the Archbishop.] From whom
"their Lordships desired to be certified, when a good sum
"should be in his hands. And so he prayed the said Bi-
"shops to take order herein accordingly." Dated Aug. 28, 1596.

His letters to them in a dearth for supply of the poor.

490 About four months after, upon another occasion, *viz.* that of a great dearth, whereby the poor suffered extremely, the Archbishop, upon special command of the Queen, issued out other letters to the Bishops of his province, for divers orders to be taken; by the observing of which, the poorer sort might be better provided for; namely, that the fasting days, Wednesdays and Fridays, should be kept; that the people resort to prayers; that no flesh be dressed; and that suppers should be forborne, especially Friday evens: and that the food, that should then have been eaten, might be distributed unto the poor. And that hospitality should be kept among the wealthier Clergy: and that, for that purpose, they should be resident upon their benefices; and that such as were not, should enjoin their tenants and fermours to do it. And that every Minister should diligently recommend the observation of these things unto the people in their several charges: and in their sermons and exhortations to stir them up to fervent prayer, public and private; to abstinence, fasting, and true humiliation; and to relieve the poor and needy by good housekeeping, and setting them at work. And the people to be taught to endure scarcity with patience; and especially to beware how they gave ear to any persuasions or practices of discontented and idle brains, to move them to repine or swerve from the humble duty of good subjects. And the Bishops to procure a certificate, to be made unto them monthly by every minister and churchwarden, containing the names of any disobedient delinquents in any the premises, as of well disposed persons that had a regard of her Majesty's

commandment, and a compassionate disposition for the poor: which certificates being sent by them every quarter unto him, [the Archbishop,] he might accordingly acquaint the Queen of her gracious expectations touching the success. And in the end he cautioned the Bishops, that, under colour of general fasting, (as formerly had sometime been done,) persons out of other parishes should not be suffered to meet together, but all to resort to their own parish churches. These are but the short contents of the Archbishop's circular letter to the Bishops for fasting and prayer on this occasion. But the whole may be read in the Appendix. Anno 1596. No. XXX.

This dearth had held now two years. It was so severe the last year, that Dr. George Abbot, in one of his lectures at Oxford, took notice of it in these words: "The dearth "which doth now reign in many parts of this land; which "doth little good to the rich, but maketh the poor to pinch "for hunger, and the children to cry in the streets; not "knowing where to have bread. And if the Lord doth not "stay his hand, the dearth may be much more." And so, it seems, by this time it was. The rigour of it. Lectures upon Jonah, p. 104.

How religiously the Clergy, in their several places and parishes, acquitted themselves, in obedience to the above-said rules and orders of the Archbishop, I make no doubt. But one Ed. Philips, (who seemed to be of the Puritan faction,) one of the Preachers of St. Mary Overy's, in Southwark, did offend against them. Insomuch that he was complained of to the Archbishop and the ecclesiastical commission; suspended, and imprisoned in the Gatehouse. The crimes objected against him were contained in these articles, (upon occasion of a sermon there by him preached on Thursday, being Twelfth-day.) I. That he brake the day appointed, doing that on Thursday which should have been done on Wednesday: and that in very contempt of authority and public order. II. That he did it on Thursday, which made the matter the worse, by turning a day of rejoicing and feasting into a day of mourning and abstinence: to the hinderance of hospitality; which at such times hath and ought to be more liberally maintained. Philips, a Preacher, suspended for not observing the Archbishop's orders for fasting.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1596.

III. That he stood beyond all proportion of time, *viz.* from nine of the clock till one. IV. That as soon as ever his sermon was done, he did very schismatically lead a very great multitude through the city after his heels, to Mr. Downham's sermon. V. That he agreed with Mr. Downham to keep his exercise [with fasting] in the afternoon. But it is but fair to add Mr. Philips's plea, which he made; which was, that he did observe the Wednesday, having prayers: but he put off his sermon till Thursday, being his ordinary day of preaching, and his standing lecture; because then he was like to have a greater congregation.

491 That he went not to Mr. Downham's church till an hour and an half after he had ended. And when he went, he had only in his company Mr. Ratcliff, his fellow-minister of the said church of St. Mary Overy's, and both their wives. And finally, that he did not induce Mr. Downham to keep such an exercise in the afternoon, but that he purposed to keep it before he spake to him thereof; as himself confessed before the High Commissioners.

Order made by the Archbishop, &c. for the students of Christ Church, their commons.

By occasion of this dearth, let me add something relating to the college of Christ's Church, Oxon, wherein our Archbishop was concerned. The Dean and Canons were purposed now to stint again a second time the bread and commons of the students to a less proportion; as had been done but a year before, at the suit of the said Dean and Chapter, by the determination of the Archbishop, the Lord Keeper, and their High Chancellor. And that allowance appointed by those Lords to continue, till, by a visitation, or statutes made, it should be otherwise settled. But now a year after, upon pretence of the great dearth, and the debts of the college, they had made an alteration of this order for the students; and in lieu thereof had appointed them a weekly pension in money, and that insufficient for their maintenance. Of this the said students, not knowing how otherwise to be relieved, made their humble application to the Queen's great Counsellor, the Lord Treasurer, as a known favourer of scholars, both by an elegant Latin epistle and petition. In the former shewing him, "that

" their college, although endowed with such revenues, as " also for the amplitude of it, the magnificence of the " buildings, the number of the students, and the dignity " of the Founder, might equal the most famous schools " erected throughout all Europe; yet in the space of a few " years, by little and little declining, and still decaying, it " was lately fallen into no small debt. And that the cause " thereof, as it was partly to be laid upon the late difficult " times, and the dearth of all things, so it ought to be im- " puted especially (as they said) to the carelessness and " neglect of those that presided over them: who being " persons that regarded more their own private gains, were " less (than it was fit) careful of the common profit and " public welfare of their college. And that now, the sooner " to discharge that debt which the college had contracted " by their default, they endeavoured, as much as they " could, to withdraw the students' yearly stipends, and also " their daily food; which, as it was now very little, would " still by this means be more diminished. Adding, how " very unjustly they dealt with them, while they were con- " triving the utter undoing of the state of the students:

Ut cum delirent reges, plectantur Achivi:

" as any equal weigher of things must account it to be.

" And, considering the premises, they humbly begged " that great Lord's aid, that these injuries might be pre- " vented, and that for the time to come some establishment " might be made of this present, uncertain, fluctuating " condition of theirs; and that they might be freed from " the continual changes to which they were then exposed. " And for that purpose they earnestly beseeched him, to- " gether with others of the Queen's Privy Council, to pro- " cure them a visitation, (and that as soon as might be,) " to examine the state of their house, and to frame whole- " some laws for it." This letter had forty-three students' hands subscribed to it. This was the tenor of their letter.

Their petition for the continuance of that order.

The sum of their said petition to the said Lord was, that their allowance from the foundation was bread and drink without stint, and a portion of meat every meal.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1596.

That the last year they were brought to a rate of bread, *viz.* nine ounces at a meal: but that this rate, together with the rest of their diet, they of the Chapter now took away, and turned every student's allowance unto a pension of money, no ways competent for their food. Against this imposition of theirs they did humbly crave his Lordship's favour: that the order, made by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the other Lords, might still remain in force, till some visitation of them might be set on foot. If any be minded to read this petition, they may find the original exemplified in the Appendix.

N°. XXXI.

492 The formidable strength of the disaffected party to *episcopacy* by this time was much abated, and the writers on that side became much more silent than before: notwithstanding some footsteps we find of them about this time. For when the open practices for settling the new discipline would not prevail, there was a more secret method made use of by some of their Ministers, of doing something that looked little less than miraculous, namely, the casting out devils from persons pretendedly possessed by them. That so the amazed multitude, having a great veneration for these exorcizers of devils by the power of their prayers and fastings, might the more readily and awfully submit to their opinions and ways. Which likewise was a practice borrowed from the Papists, to make their Priests revered, and to confirm the laity in their superstitions. One of these was Darrel, B. A. a Minister of Nottingham: who at last, after many years' exercise of his frauds in and about that county, *viz.* in Lancashire and Derbyshire, was brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, and others of the ecclesiastical commission, (as we shall hear by and by,) being about the age of three and twenty or four and twenty, and then no Minister, he took upon him to cast out first one devil, and afterwards, upon repossession, eight devils more, out of a maid in Derbyshire, about seventeen years old, whose name was Katharine Wright. Of which himself writ the history, and gave a copy of it to the Lady Bowes. This was about the year

The Puritans pretend to cast out devils.

Darrel, a Minister, pretends to this power.

1586: from which year till the 28th of March, 1596, Mr. Darrel, one now generally known, was out of work; but in respect of what he had done grew very pert and proud, and in no small credit with the simpler sort. And now in this year he pretended to cast out a devil out of a boy in Burton, called Tho. Darling, then about the age of fourteen years. Of which also a book was written by one Rice, a saddler in the same town; and contracted by one Mr. Denism, a Minister: which was seen and allowed by Darrel, and Mr. Hildersham, another Minister. Anno 1596.

Seven persons dispossessed in one house by him.

March the 17th following, Darrel is sent for into Lancashire by one Mr. Starky; and there, in Starky's house, dispossessed seven persons at one clap: whereof six were women, and one of them was named Jane Ashton: who since was fallen into the hands of certain Seminary Priests, and carried by them up and down the country, to certain recusants' houses. And by her cunning counterfeiting of certain fits, and staying of herself by secret directions of the said Priests, she got considerable gain to herself; and they by such lewdness won also great credit among their proselytes. Of the dispossessing of those seven spirits, one Mr. Deacon, Preacher at Leigh, wrote a book; which was justified from point to point by one More, another Preacher of his own allowance; but very childishly done: which More had joined himself with Darrel in that pretended dispossession.

Certain Priests serve their turn by one of them.

Somers, a boy, dispossessed by Darrel.

William Somers, a boy of Nottingham, was another pretended to be dispossessed by Darrel: by whom he got his greatest glory. For he stuck in his fingers for almost five months: whereas in the other nine, he had despatched his business in two or three days. He took Somers in hand Nov. 5, 1597. Of his dealings with him divers treatises came abroad. But how strangely he was possessed, a book of his writing will shew, if you will believe him: asserting, that the things which that boy did, or rather suffered, were supernatural, and such as the arm of man was too short to reach unto. I. That there had been seen and felt to run up and down along his body, a lump or swelling between

BOOK IV.

Anno 1596.

his flesh and skin, of the bigness of an egg in some part of his body, in some other greater or less; and removing immediately from one leg to another; and so into the belly, making it as big again as it naturally was; and thence into the throat, cheek, forehead, tongue, eyes, thrusting them out extraordinarily, and causing a great blackness in or upon the same. II. When this lump or swelling was in the leg, the same member was heavy and unflexible like iron. III. That he was so strong, that sometimes three, four, five, six men were scarcely able to rule him: he not panting, blowing, nor changing colour; but the parties that held him sweating and labouring with all their might. IV. He was heavy like iron, so that divers by reason of his weight
493 could scarcely lift him. V. He lay as dead once by the space of an hour, cold as iron, his hands and face black, and no breath perceived to come from him. VI. He spake distinctly in a continued speech for the space of a quarter of an hour, his mouth being close shut. VII. He spake, his mouth being quite open, his tongue drawn into his throat, neither his lips nor chaps moving. VIII. Being oftentimes cast into the fire, and sometime so as his hand lay in the fire, sometime so as his face and head lay bare in the fire; yet had he not so much as one hair of his head singed thereby, or at any time hurt at all.

The course used for casting out Sommers's devil. Apolog. or Def. of Som. possess.

The occasion of Darrel's first coming to Sommers (as he shewed in his book) was, that he was importuned by two letters, one from Mr. Aldridg, his Pastor, and the other in the name of the town, or sundry inhabitants of the same: who signified to him after what a strange and wonderful manner the young man was handled; which made them (as they wrote) suspect him to be possessed of the Devil. To which, he said, after other inquiries, that he concluded him indeed possessed; and advised them without delay to use the means which God in mercy had left to his Church for the recovery of such, that is, prayer and fasting. And for that end to desire the help and assistance of some godly learned in the ministry, next adjoining unto them. And in any wise to spare him; lest, if he should be a leader in

CHAP. XX.

that action, and the party be dispossessed, the common people might be ready to attribute unto him some special and rare gift of casting out of devils. Whereunto also they inclined in their letters to him: Mr. Aldridg, either before or after this, had written for two of the most learned Ministers adjoining, namely, Preton and Broune. But one being absent from home, Darrel was sent unto, by the advice of one Mr. Ireton, because of his experience herein that he had above others. And so upon a second request, by the Mayor of Nottingham, to come and visit that sad distressed person, whose grievous pains increased upon him, he came; not running, as he said, of himself, nor seeking after it. And then seeing the manner of his handling, he gave forth that he was possessed with an unclean spirit. This was upon the 5th of November, 1597, aforesaid. And upon the 7th day next following, Mr. Aldridg and two other Ministers, and himself, (as he related it,) accompanied with divers other neighbour Christians, to the number of an hundred and fifty, or thereabouts, assembled in prayers and fasting; entreating the Lord in his behalf, that he would be pleased in mercy to cast out Satan, and deliver this poor man from the torments he was in, if it so seemed good in his eyes. The Lord was entreated of them. And they rejoiced, and blessed God for the same. But the unclean spirit being gone out of him, according as was foretold in the Scriptures, returned, and sought to enter into him again. But at length he recovered him, as appeared by the signs of possession seen in him. And this was about two weeks after his first possession.

Anno 1596.

He is taken into custody for the better trial of him.

Some few days after, the Mayor of the town, with some of the Aldermen, suspected Sommers to be a counterfeit. And for the finding out of his said dissimulation, took him from his parents, and committed him to the custody of two men. These seeing him in his fits, threatened him, the one to whip him, and the other to pinch him with a pair of pincers, if, leaving off his tricks, he would not confess his dissimulation. Hereupon (as Darrel continued his relation) the Devil appeared visibly unto Sommers: and, both by pro-

BOOK IV.

Anno 1596.

mises and threats, (as himself after confessed,) persuaded him to confess that he had dissembled in all that he had done. And then withal withdrew himself from tormenting him in his body. By which the youth came to give out, both in word and writing, that he had dissembled, and counterfeited all that he did, and that he was never possessed.

Sommers examined before a commission whether he dissembled.

Upon this, Darrel and others procured a commission, for the confirmation of the matter of fact. And about a month after Sommers's confession, (wherein he still persisted,) the Commissioners met: before whom, when they had sat almost two days, hearing and examining witnesses, he, having first affirmed that he dissembled, and secondly, denied that he had done any of these things, (upon which seventeen persons had been deposed,) forthwith was cast into a fit, and from that into divers others, in their presence.
494 And so they surceased to proceed any further, as though themselves were now eyewitnesses of the truth. And now the youth was committed to the custody of another: to whom it was free for any to repair and visit him; which before was denied. Now the spirit, which before in subtilty had lurked and lay hid, shewed himself in his kind. And during this time, for the space of ten days, he freely acknowledged that he never counterfeited any thing; but that it was the Devil moved him to say so, threatening, being in the form of a black dog, to kill him, if he would not: and promised to help him to do what tricks he would, and when, if he would affirm and stand to the same. Which promise he had ever since most surely kept. But that being maligned by some, means were used by them for committing him again to his former keepers: with whom no sooner was he, but he was at quiet, and as free from torment in his body by Satan, as other men; and returned to his former confessing of counterfeiting: wherein since that time he persisted. And of late added this, that Darrel was confederate with him therein; and for these four last years instructed and trained him up thereunto.

After all this relation of this business made by Darrel,

he, in conclusion, affirmed the contrary to what the boy had said: not only that he himself had not been confederate with him, but also that Sommers was not, nor could possibly be, any such counterfeit; but was for certainty possessed with the Devil. And this evident by witnesses that saw him in his fits, and by other arguments shewed in his book. Anno 1596.

At length, (that I may bring this story to a conclusion, though it reached one or two years further,) the Queen's ecclesiastical Commissioners took this matter in hand, and intermeddled in this supposed imposture. The occasion this, as another writer sets down the matter of fact. This boy being gotten out of Darrel's hand, confessed and avowed that all he had done, for about the space of three months, was but dissembling; and shewed to the Mayor and Aldermen of Nottingham how he had acted all the former fits. The Archdeacon of Derby wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury touching this matter. It was thought good to provide some prevention; and for that end, to procure a commission from the Archbishop of York for the examination of such witnesses as should be produced in the behalf of Darrel, to prove that Sommers had not dissembled. The said commission obtained, exceptions were taken against it; because all the Commissioners were addicted to Darrel. Thereupon it was renewed, and some made Commissioners that were known to dislike of Darrel's proceedings. When this second commission was executed, Sommers was brought before the Commissioners; who, shortly after his coming, fell to acting some of his fits in their presence, upon a former compact and agreement.

Darrel comes before the ecclesiastical commission about this business.

Commission from the Archbishop of York to examine Darrel's witnesses.

Sommers afterwards was brought before the Lord Chief Justice: and then he confessed again the whole course of his dissimulation. By this time it came to pass, that the people of Nottingham were violent one against another, and the whole town divided according as they stood affected. The pulpits rang of nothing but devils and witches: and men, women, and children, were so affrighted, that they durst not stir in the night; nor so much as a servant al-

The disturbance at Nottingham by occasion of this possessed person.

BOOK IV.

most go into his master's cellar about his business without company. Few happened to be sick or ill at ease, but straight they were damned to be possessed.

Anno 1596.

Darrel appears before the Archbishop. Found a counterfeit.

Hereupon our Archbishop, advised by the Lord Chief Justice and others, thought it very necessary to call for Darrel, by virtue of her Majesty's commission for ecclesiastical causes. Who accordingly appeared before him and others at Lambeth: and from thence was committed to prison, by reason of his absurd and untrue, but yet confident assertions: and thereby giving just occasion to suspect he was a counterfeit. And at last, after a full hearing before the Archbishop, Bishop of London, the Lord Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench, and the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Dr. Cæsar, Master of Requests, Dr. Byng, Dean of the Arches, and others, the said Darrel was, by full agreement of the Court, condemned for a counterfeit: and, together with More his companion, both deposed from the ministry, and committed close prisoners. The justice of which proceeding, S. Harsnet, Chaplain to Bishop Bancroft, wrote a book to vindicate, printed 1599, entitled, *The Discovery of the fraudulent Practices of J. Darrel.*

495 The great design to extol the discipline.

The great matter drove at in all this great pretended power of dispossessing devils from the bodies of men, and commanding those unclean spirits, was to serve the interest of the *new discipline:* as appears by what those concerned herein wrote in their books published to the world. Thus More, one that was as cunning as Darrel in dealing with Satan, saith, "That the faith of the Church, established "under pastors and teachers, &c. shall bring forth this "fruit, namely, to cast out devils." And so Darrel in his book, called *An Apology*, intimated, writing, "That the "work of God prospered, to the great good of that town "[of Nottingham;] for thereby the word of God grew "mightily and prevailed." And shewing himself zealous for the platform, condemned himself for taking Orders before he had a call to a flock; "in becoming a stipendiary "preacher in that town, and having sought for the out-"ward calling of our Church, before he had a flock to de-

" pend upon him. But this, he said, was done by him out " of a zeal without knowledge."

Anno 1596.

But yet this weak but honest man (shall I call him?) did not think himself to be a counterfeit; but writ a book, while prisoner in the Gatehouse, entitled, *An Apology or Defence of the possession of William Sommers, &c. Wherein this work of God is cleared from the evil name of counterfeiting: and thereupon also it is shewn, that in these days men may be possessed with devils; and that being so, by prayer and fasting the unclean spirit may be cast out.* In the end of which he made this protestation; " Surely, " if these things prove true, [namely, whereof he was ac- " cused,] let me be registered to my perpetual infamy, not " only for a most notorious deceiver, but such an hypocrite " as never trod upon the earth before. Yea, Lord, (for to " thee I convert my speech, who best knowest all things,) " if I be guilty of these things laid to my charge; if I have " confederated more or less with Sommers, Darling, or any " of the rest; [whom he had dispossessed;] if ever I set " eye on them before they were possessed, &c. then let me " not only be made a laughing-stock and by-word unto all " men, but rase my name also out of the book of life, and " give me my portion with hypocrites."

Confirmations and consecrations of Bishops.

This year were these vacations of bishoprics, and confirmations and consecrations of meet persons for filling up of the same. The see of Worcester being void, the preferment lay between Tho. Bilson, S. T. P. Warden of Winchester college, and Dr. James, the learned Library Keeper of Oxford. The former laid out for this promotion: who with a short well-penned letter, dated the latter end of December, 1595, to the Lord Treasurer, sent him his new year's gift, as his patron, as was usual, with acknowledgment of his manifold favours without his deserts. And the deanery of Windsor being likewise void, anno 1595, the said Treasurer mentioned him for that place, without his seeking or knowledge, to hold it, as it seems, with his wardenship. Bilson stuck but a while upon this. In the mean time Dr. Robert Benet, Master of St. Crosses by Winches-

See of Worcester void:

And deanery of Windsor.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1596.

ter, and sometime the Lord Treasurer's Chaplain, made his interest to that Lord in the second place for the same, namely, in case Dr. Bilson refused it. And the rather, because when the Archbishop had told him [Bilson] that he was nominated for that deanery, (as Dr. Benet received it from the Archbishop's own mouth,) he said, it was no place for him; and that he could not accept thereof, nor of any dispensation to hold it, or attend it above six weeks in the year, by the statutes of his college, whereunto he had given his oath. And that sithence he had seriously laboured and employed his friends, and so still did, for greater dignities: according as Dr. Benet in his letter informed the Treasurer. Upon which ground the said Doctor interposed his suit, and by good means had brought the same to some perfection. All which notwithstanding he could not tell upon what despair of success for higher places he [Dr. Bilson] meant, as he told Dr. Benet, to retire to Windsor, if he missed of Worcester: and that he hoped to have dispensation of her Majesty to enjoy the same, and never to come thither but six weeks in the year; because more he could not be by his oath. Which how unanswerable it would be to her Highness's expectation in her principal house, unpleasing to the nobility resorting thither, unfitting for the dignity of the place, dangerous to his own credit, unkind
496 and injurious to him, [Dr. Benet;] how little good he could do there in so short a time, either in preaching, government, hospitality, or any other service: all this he humbly beseeched his Lordship to consider: and therewithal to prevent or interrupt this course, by certifying her Majesty or dissuading the man. He added, that if it should like her to call him unto it, he would by God's grace attend it usually the half year, and at every occasion extraordinary: and therein, both in preaching, government, and hospitality, do that service to God's glory, and the honour of her Majesty, by the grace of God bestowed upon him, that he could possibly perform. And Dr. Benet, according to his suit, obtained the deanery, and was afterwards preferred to the see of Hereford. And Bilson at last got Worcester:

Dr. Benet made Dean of Windsor: and

which he had his eye rather upon, and sued to the said Lord to stand his friend to the Queen for it. He had also applied himself to the Archbishop for his favour and good word: whose answer to him was, that he was so besieged with some about him, that he was not suffered to follow his own inclination: but that he had passed his word for Dr. James, and had sued for him. Upon which he more earnestly reported his merits to the Treasurer in these words: "One would desire no better judge than the Archbishop, if he were not overcarried with others, whether of the twain [either he or Dr. James] had taken more pains in the Church, and served her Majesty with greater charge. But, he added, that Lord's facility [meaning the Archbishop] was surprised by others. And so he was forced, he said, to appeal to his honourable and indifferent wisdom and favour, since her Majesty used the advice of more than one in these matters." And here it seems the Treasurer carried it from the Archbishop.

Dr. Bilson solicits for Worcester to the Lord Treasurer; and obtains it.

The pains and good deserts of Dr. Bilson, which he thought convenient now to put the Lord Treasurer in mind of, was his answer to a Popish book set forth by Dr. Allen, called *An Apology and true Declaration of the Institution and Endeavours of the two English Colleges*, viz. at Rome and Rheimes. Which received a learned answer by Dr. Bilson, in the year 1585, entitled, *The true Difference between Christian Subjection and Antichristian Rebellion: wherein the Prince's lawful power to command, and true and indeprivable right to bear the sword, are defended against the Pope's censures and the Jesuits' sophisms, &c. With a demonstration, that the things reformed in the Church of England, by the laws of this realm, are truly Catholic, notwithstanding the vain shew made to the contrary.* In this Apology they charged the Queen's christian, mild, and advised regiment with no less crimes than heresy, tyranny, and blasphemy, as the only causes why they departed and absented themselves so long from their natural country: calling the Queen's ecclesiastical laws, *strange and unnatural dealings, violent disor-*

Answers Dr. Allen's book, called An Apology.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1596.

ders, which to all posterity must needs breed shame and rebuke, repugnant to the laws of God, the Church, and nature. And most of all spurning at the act and oath which abolished the Pope's usurped power out of England, and declared the Queen to be the supreme bearer of the sword, &c. And to make their matter the more saleable in the ears of the simple, they used all their Romish art and eloquence to deface and traduce the Queen's right of authority, &c. as if the sovereignty of the Queen were a thing *improbable, unreasonable, unnatural, impossible.* [These were their words.] And the oath, [*viz.* of allegiance,] *intolerable, repugnant to God, the Church, the Queen's honour, and all men's consciences,* &c. "The "whole book, (saith Bilson, who giveth this account of "it,) is rather a rhetorical declamation of an ungracious "wit, than a substantial confirmation of their acts and at-"tempts against God and the magistrates."

Confirmed and consecrated. Regist. Whit.

Dr. Bilson's confirmation for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of Christ and the Blessed Virgin at Wigorn, was performed, June 11, 1596, in St. Mary de Arcubus, London. And the act of his consecration was June 13. following, in the Archbishop's chapel at Lambeth; Richard Bishop of London, William Bishop of Winton, and Richard Bishop of Bangor, assisting the said Archbishop in the said act: Bancroft, Munford, Bilgar, Ravis, S. Th. PP. present. The instrument to induct or install him was written by Charles Fotherby, S. T. B. Archdeacon of Canterbury, June 25, and directed to Godfrey Goldesborough and Tho. Thorneton, S. T. PP. Gilbert Backhouse and Will. Tovye, S. T. BB. &c. Prebendaries of Wigorn.

497 Bilson's parentage from Bavaria. Offic. Herald.

Dr. Bilson sprang from German parentage. His grandfather was Arnold Bilson; who married a daughter of the Duke of Bavaria; and had arms given him by the said Duke, as they were depicted in the Heralds' Office, London. This Arnold's father removed into England, and settled in Berkshire. Arnold (who lived in the county of Southampton) had issue Harmond and Leonard. Harmond had issue three sons, *viz.* our Thomas, the eldest, and Osmund and

Leonard. The arms by him borne, as did appear by the evidences of the said Arnold, in the records of Garter, then Principal King of Arms, (who allowed and confirmed the same to him and his posterity,) was, *azure, a demy double rose, silver and gules:* and *a demy pomegranate impaled gold, the seeds, proper, barbared, stalked, and leaved, vert.* And to their crest, *a bugle, gold; the bouldric, silver; tasseled, or, mantle, gules.* Dated Oct. 10, 1582. Anno 1596.

The vacation of the diocese of Chichester was dated from the 1st day of May, 1596, by the death of Tho. Bickley, the last Bishop. The confirmation of Anthony Watson, S. T. B. for Bishop and Pastor of the said cathedral church of the Holy Trinity, Chichester, was performed on Saturday the 14th of August, 38. Eliz. In the instrument, called *summaria petitio*, consisting of several petitions, one was the character of the person confirmed: which is the same, and in the same words, with those used for all such as were elected Bishops: which I will here set down once for all; *viz.* Watson confirmed and consecrated Bishop of Chichester.

Quod dictus Anthonius Watson fuit et est vir providus et discretus, eminenti scientiâ, vitâ et moribus meritò commendatus, liber et de legitimo matrimonio procreatus; atque ætate legitimâ, et ordine sacerdotali constitutus: necnon Deo devotus, et ecclesiæ prædictæ apprimè necessarius. Hocque fuit, et est verum, publicum, notorium, manifestum pariter et famosum. His testimonials. Regist. Whitg.

Another instrument at his confirmation (usual at all others) was *scedula consensus; In Dei nomine, Amen. Ego Anthonius Watson, S. T. B. Decanus ecclesiæ cathedralis Bristol*, &c.

He was consecrated Aug. 15, Sunday, in the chapel at Lambeth, by the Archbishop; John Bishop of Rochester, Richard Bishop of Bangor, Tho. Bishop of Wigorn, assisting.

Hugh Billot, Bishop of Chester, (of the other province of York,) deceased this year. Soon after, one William Stubbes, a gentleman of that county, interceded for one Mr. Gerard, a Divine of good merit in those parts, to suc- Gerard recommended to succeed in the see of Chester, vacant.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1596.

ceed; in an address to the Lord Treasurer's Secretary, to this tenor:

"Sir, Our good Bishop of this diocese of Chester being "gone to God, I wish, as I know you do in the like cases, "a like good man may succeed him. And for that it hath "pleased God to furnish this country with a man already "settled and trained here, wise, grave, and learned rarely, "I hope we shall not need to fetch any from among you at "the Court. His name is Gerard, nephew to Sir Gilbert "Gerard, late Master of the Rolls, Bachelor in Divinity, "[brother to the Clerk of the duchy; set in the margin:] "a man so singular in his carriage and gifts as you shall "hardly find. And because I do know most humble peti- "tion will be made by this whole country for him, I do "therefore pray you, for the cause of God, to yield your "best furtherance. And so bold to solicit you, in a good "cause, for old acquaintance with your good disposition, "I leave you to the Lord. Congleton, in Cheshire, this "24. of June, 1596.

"Yours to command,

"W. Stubbes."

Notwithstanding, these endeavours succeeded not: for Vaughan, Bishop of Bangor, obtained this see of Chester the next year.

The Archbishop is informed of lands concealed, belonging to Eastbridge hospital.

By a letter which I meet with, writ this year, 1596, by Mr. G. Hayes to the Archbishop, he seems to have further advanced the good estate of St. Thomas's hospital in Canterbury, by having discovered certain lands and rents, anciently belonging to the said house; which had been concealed, and enjoyed by others; and some part thereof lately possessed by the said Hayes. For the Queen had made a grant to the Archbishop of all the revenues whatsoever,
498 that had appertained to it. And Mr. Hayes expecting favour from the Archbishop, gave him not only a particular of this, but a demonstration of the constitution and state of the hospital, from the visitation of it in the latter end of

King Henry VIII. unto the present time. The letter (which will give some light into this matter) was to this tenor: CHAP. XX.

Anno 1596.

Hayes to the Archbishop.

"It may please your Grace, according to my promise I "have sent you these notes of lands and rents I take to be "belonging to th'ospital of Eastbridge; and now with- "holden and conceled from the same. Beseeching your "Grace to accept of them, according to my goodwil and "true meaning; and withal to consider my charge in the "purchasing of her Majesty's gift of the same, partly drawn "therunto. Wherein your Honor shal do as grete a good "torne as otherwise to bestow the same. Your Grace "was favourable to Mr. Lawse[a], who wrongfully enjoyed "it during his life; and further encresed his benefit by "making of low-rented leases xxi years at his death, "being nothing worth in law, but by your Grace's suffer- "ance. The which might better have been employed to- "wards the purchase of her Majesties gift. Whose title "being of inheritance, and just by law, your Grace having "the same, may the more justly dispose thereof, as of your "awne proper gift by purchase from her Majesty. The "performance wherof I do redily attend, where it shal be "your Grace's plesure to appoint me thereunto. So with "reverend dewty I humbly take my leave, this of "June, 1596.

[a] Dr. Lawse was the Archbishop's Commissary General, and Master of this hospital, and deceased ann. 1594: and succeeded by Roger, Suffragan of Dover.

"Your Grace's to command,

A true copy by me, N. Battely. "G. Hayes."

The concealments mentioned in the letter he thus specified:

A Demonstration of certain Lands and Rents concealed from Eastbridge Hospital in Canterbury.

The lands concealed.

"Adam Le Eire *dedit* 100 *acr. terr. pastur. et* 20*s. red-* "*dit*, &c. The said Adam made an ordination for the foun- "dation of a chantry in the said hospital of St. Thomas the "Martyr; as may appear in Mr. Incent's office, &c.

"Ten acres of land *in campo voc. Wopping* Richard de "Beche gave to the master and brethren of the hospital;

BOOK IV. Anno 1596.

" with ten acres Mr. Gryvil and Mr. Gyll gave in the pur-
" chase of certain lands, that they purchased out of the
" chantry of our Lady, founded in the said hospital; which
" was no parcel of the said chantry lands."

The several papers that Hayes sent in to the Archbishop, containing the revenues and condition of this hospital, were extant among the original writings and chartularies belonging to it, the transcripts whereof were taken by the exact hand of the reverend Mr. Nic. Battely deceased; and by himself sent to me divers years ago. For which I refer the reader to the Appendix. And also for the modern good state thereof in the year 1690, (drawn up by the same,) under John Battely, late Archdeacon of Canterbury, then the careful Master.

Number XXXI. A. XXXI. B. XXXI. C.

A letter concerning foreign affairs sent by Castol to the Archbishop.

The Archbishop, as a Privy Counsellor, had the civil good estate of the kingdom, as well as the ecclesiastical, committed to his care and consultation. In order to which he would not be without a knowledge of foreign affairs, which might have influence upon England. There is a letter of such matters among the Lord Burghley's MSS. that was written to the Archbishop by Castol, the Minister of the French church, London: who seems to have been a knowing person, and that had considerable intelligence from abroad, and especially from France. In this letter he informed the Archbishop of the present state of the Poles and the Germans, and of a notable league the former were making with the latter, with the several articles containing the terms required; wherein most of the northern nations, as well as others, were concerned. Where Castol makes an observation of the prudence of that state in their deliberations, however they were commonly reckoned to be a sort
499 of barbarians. And then he proceeded to give some notices from France, and a warning, what little true friendship the Queen was to expect from thence, howsoever that nation and Spain were at odds: their hostilities being then carried on very remissly, in a free and idle cessation of arms; whereby the Spaniard did with the greater force fall upon

the Hollander. And that such allies as France was, would weigh the Queen's friendship only according to her successes, and were not further to be depended upon. That there were two ambassadors coming thence, one after another, only to be spies into the English counsels, and to take their advantages, as though one were not enough *ad nectandas artes*. This letter, being of some import, the Archbishop communicated to the Lord Treasurer, to make his use of it. I have put it into the Appendix. CHAP. XX. Anno 1596. N. XXXII.

CHAP. XXI.

Mr. Broughton takes offence at the Archbishop, for hindering his preferment, and a new translation of the Bible. Challenges a dispute with Dr. Andrews, about the descent. *Bishop Bilson, by the Archbishop's advice, preaches against Christ's suffering of hell-torments. The occasion of printing his discourse. The various opinions concerning the* descent, *drawn up for the use of the Lord Treasurer. Broughton represents the Church of England's sense thereof against a Jew; which was, that Christ's* descent *was his going to paradise.*

HUGH BROUGHTON being upon discontent gone beyond sea, the blame thereof he laid upon the Archbishop. The main reasons were, because he did not forward his preferment, notwithstanding his great deserts, as he expressed it, in point of deep learning, so serviceable for explaining of the Bible: and that he hindered a new translation of it, to rectify the former: which he had been for some years intent upon. Thus I find him complaining to the Lord Treasurer against the Archbishop from abroad, in a letter dated June 11, 1597; "That my Lord's Grace put "him hard choice, either to take grosser injuries than any "the vilest would, or to call his Grace into trial, and to see "whether an Archbishop and an high Counsellor must "take a foil, or the truth and right; which the Queen's Anno 1597. Broughton offended goes beyond sea. Complains of the Archbishop as the cause.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597.

" oath, all the realm and world will defend. That he had " inclosed in his letter to his Lordship an apology for his " Grace's speeches to his Lordship; so much as reverent- " ly might be handled. That he could have charged him " of far deeper matters: and even in this point, *viz.* how " two years ago he answered the Archbishop fully, both by " his tongue and by writing, that he was heartily sorry that " their LL. words could be crossed by one Prelate: and " that the Queen's Highness, for recompensing his studies, " must lean upon the reed of his Grace's liking. Whom " when I check (that I may use his own conceited words) " with the greatest bitterness most justly, then he promis- " eth to do any good. If I write gently, he eateth his " words. I have written to all the realm for the true Bible, " wherein so oft as that wisdom faileth, [by reason, he " meant, of faulty translating,] his Grace is culpable. He " added, that he had told him of one error, [meaning in the " old translation,] the highest, flat atheism; whereby, I trow, " said he, his Grace will no more hinder a translation. He " prayed his Lordship, (to whom he writ,) to advise the
500 " Archbishop to take heed, lest he bring the realm to eter- " nal shame. That Dr. Stallard and Dr. Saravia told him " what would become of his Grace's graceless ungraceful- " ness towards his studies. And that Bishop Fletcher, two " years ago, had told Mr. Roberte, Chaplain to my Lord of " Essex, what his ungratefulness towards his [Broughton's] " pains would breed, *viz.* that he would go beyond sea, to " call the Bishops to such accounts, as never by all the " scholars in the world could be rendered. And now, said " he, the Archbishop is within a hairbreadth to shame his " nation for ever, in a matter the highest for religion." [Meaning, if he would not give order presently for a new translation.]

He added, " That the Scots offered him more upon the " sight of one epistle printed to the Queen, hindered by " his Grace, than ever he had, or looked for to have, in " England. And he feared he must go to them. Yet, " though his Grace forgot learning, humanity, and common

" wit, raging for being commended, he would delay Scot- " land till after Frankford mart, and leave the cure of his " Grace to the gentry of England: which [gentry,] he said, " would not for an hundred thousand pounds that not we " but Scotland should have first a Bible, by a linguist, [*i. e.* " himself,] and at whole nations consent. He then prayed " his Lordship to consider well an epistle he had wrote to " all our gentry; though he touched matters lightly, yet " our neighbours, that ken English, despised him unspeak- " ably. He wished his Grace had some good advice. He " might not give him leave to destroy all our religion. He " would have been glad to have countenanced him, till he " saw that he [the Archbishop] thought it done of base- " ness, not of φιλησυχίας." And so he humbly commended his Lordship to God, June 11, 1597. Without any name subscribed. Anno 1597.

His Apology.

It is pity, that such great learning and more modesty and less ambition met not together here in one breast. His Apology, inclosed in the abovementioned letter to the Treasurer, was entitled, *Touching a Speech uttered unto his Lordship by my Lord of C.* It began, " My duty re- " membered to your Lordship, I received your Lordship's " answer, why your Lordship performed not your promise " sent unto me by M. D. Cæsar. For that the Archbishop " said, that I had written a book slanderous and errone- " ous." I refer the reader to the Appendix, to peruse the said Apology: which was printed fair by him in a sheet of paper in quarto. This book (which he had the confidence to write to the Queen) was an account of a controversy of a Scripture chronology, between Dr. Reynolds of Oxford and him. Concerning which the Archbishop had told his agent Mr. Mulcaster, that he had written to the Queen *untruly*. In this Apology he had this expression; " That " he might be holden dull, if, demanding recompense of " twenty years' travail, with the principal approbation of the " best, &c. he should take my Lord's Grace's speeches for " a gracious recompense and full reward, &c. or my Lord " to be such a scholar, that one of my leisure in study N. XXXIII.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597.

" (said he) should yield unto. Wherefore I must crave leave " to call his Grace into judgment." And further, when Mulcaster aforesaid had carried Broughton's declaration of Dr. Reynolds's cause and his to the Archbishop, Broughton, in his said Apology, related what passed from the Archbishop to the said messenger concerning him, *viz.* " That the Archbishop used honourable speeches of him; " that he knew his studies earnest, then for twenty years, " in a path untrodden since the Apostles' time; to clear " the narrations of Scripture, by time, place, and persons. " Wherein he that crossed him once, would be caught in a " thousand absurdities." Which shewed the Archbishop's mild and sedate spirit, expressing his value for the said Broughton's learning, however rudely he had been treated by him.

Offence again taken at the Archbishop by Broughton.

Not long before this learned linguist's departure beyond the seas, he took another offence at the Archbishop, occasioned by a sermon by him preached upon Acts xiii. 18—22. *And about the time of forty years suffered he their manners in the wilderness. And when he had destroyed seven nations in the land of Canaan, he divided their land to them by lot. And after that he gave unto them judges about the space of four hundred and fifty years, until Samuel the prophet. And afterward they desired a king: and God gave unto them Saul the son of Cis—by the space of forty years*, &c. By which text he chose to confirm his
501 great principle of the reckoning of times, and settling a true chronology by the Scripture. This controversy, handled by him, caused various speeches. Some said, that the Archbishop of Canterbury had dashed all the frame of his studies and skill in the present matter, and in the rest of the Bible: others, that there had been a letter written to the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, that his Grace was not of Broughton's mind, for his book of the Concent. It was reported also, that when some discourse was had at Court of conferring some preferment upon him, that had rule annexed to it, the Archbishop should say, " that if " Mr. Broughton were preferred, as he [*i. e.* the Arch-

" bishop] was, he would not be ruled by any king in the " world." CHAP. XXI.

Anno 1597.

His letter to the Lord Treasurer of matters between the Archbishop and him.

Wherefore, a little before his departure, being at London, he made a long relation of past passages between the Archbishop and him, in another letter to the Lord Treasurer; and desired that the Archbishop might have a copy of it. It began, " Whereas I am strangely injured (Right " Honourable) by the Archbishop of Canterbury's Grace, " I thought good to leave our soil, and all promised prefer- " ment, rather than put up such injuries done to God's " word at his hand. For which being upon departure, I " thought good to shew unto your Lordship, &c. the tenor " of the matter." This letter being long, and an original, I leave it to the reader in the Appendix. N. XXXIV.

Account of a controversy between Dr. Andrews and him about the sense of *hell*.

The aforesaid letter of complaint to the Lord Treasurer, of injuries done to him by the Archbishop, came to the said Archbishop's hands, according as Mr. Broughton had desired. Who also about this time sent another letter to the Archbishop himself, to the same purport. The Archbishop took these heats of this learned man against him calmly, and shewed still his Christian meekness and prudence. Which I take from another letter, dated from Leyden in the month of April, to the Lord Treasurer, importing, " that " his Grace was very desirous of agreement and reconcili- " ation: as I gladly (said he) would have with him and " all men. That the sermon upon 1 Pet. iii. wherein he " thought that his affirming that *sheol* and ἅιδης never signi- " fied *gehenna*, or *tartarus*, in any Hebrew or Greek author " among heathens, as crossing Dr. Andrews, [the Arch- " bishop's Chaplain, who was of another opinion,] had been " the strange cause of his sending for him; [as the Arch- " bishop had done by some messenger.] Which made him " suspect trouble and imprisonment; and thereupon had " thought it his best course to escape out of harm's way." Whereas the Archbishop intended only by his sending for him, to hear him and the said Doctor discourse the point. But this Broughton understanding afterwards, said, " He might have been told so, or at least civility used,

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597.

" [which, it seems, the messenger did not sufficiently, ac-
" cording to his expectation.] And that he looked for so
" much for his long pains. And touching Dr. Andrews, he
" thought good to satisfy his Lordship, [the Lord Trea-
" surer,] that he told Dr. Stallard thus of his studies, that
" if he were to begin anew, he would follow the same
" course. But now must make the best of his own: [such
" deference did Dr. Andrews also give to Broughton's
" learning.] And that where he differed from him, he
" would rather yield, if strife should be, than hope for
" victory." Thus obligingly, void of all moroseness, did that great scholar and divine send his message. Whereupon Broughton said, " that he would be loath to provoke
" any of his good will. But that seeing that by others,
" strife was stirred, he thought good to call the matter in-
" to pleading. And this, he said, he dared tell his Lord-
" ship, [to whom he was now writing,] that if Dr. Andrews
" would, in a Commencement at Cambridge, defend his
" opinion, in his said reply upon him in answer, if he were
" not foiled for all places, wherein *sheol* and ἅιδης were
" found, and by consequent for all ground of Bible studies,
" he would require to be meanly thought of."

Broughton's expostulation in respect of the neglect of him.

He added, " that he never yet departed from the grounds
" of religion allowed of the best that ever had been in
" England. And that he might think the country savagely
" ungrateful, that suffered him to be evil spoken of, for his
" defending and clearing their principles. That touching
" his preferment, seven years ago, in Scotland, a place of
" their best had been appointed for him: but that with
" continual gay promises he was kept at home. That he
" must needs confess, that he was loath to write an Apology
" [as he had done the last year] accusing his own country,
502 " and had abode there [abroad] to his own loss. That
" now he had a king's word [the King of Scotland] for
" somewhat more than ever he hoped: and that he defer-
" red his resolution, till he had her Majesty's answer.
" Adding, that his Lordship's promise must have some end
" of trial touching truth or falsehood. And that he ex-

" pected in England six months. That he must account it " a dalliance, if he never had answer. And so prayed his " Lordship to procure by Dr. Cæsar a resolute answer. Anno 1597. " Dated from Leyden in Holland their 14. of April. So by " English April it might sooner be in his Lordship's hands." And so subscribed himself,

" Your Honour's to command,

" H. Broughton."

Bishop Bilson preacheth against the suffering of Christ in his soul. Offence taken thereat.

It appeareth by the challenge made, as abovesaid, to Dr. Andrews, that the controverted article of the *descent* of Christ into hell was still on foot; as to the true sense and understanding of it. For how much learned pains soever Mr. Broughton had taken for divers years past, and notwithstanding the tracts by him written thereof; shewing and proving, that it was meant of the going of Christ to paradise, according to the proper sense of the word (which we translate *hell*) both in the Greek and Hebrew; yet (that learned man observed) the opinion of Geneva took place with a great many here, (as did the other doctrines of that city,) namely, that Christ suffered in his soul the pains of hell. Which was a doctrine also that our Archbishop and the learnedest Divines of the Church would by no means admit. For the opinion of the Church of England now was, that Christ's *descent* into hell was, that after his death he triumphed over the devils. Bishop Bilson, preaching at St. Paul's this Lent, thought fit to discourse on this subject. But first communicated his purpose to our Archbishop; who allowed and encouraged him thereunto; for the better quieting and settling the minds of the people, who were now run into differences and discords about it. But so displeased were some with the Bishop, for his stating this point after this manner, and declining the sense given thereof by some of the foreign Divines of great name, as Calvin and Beza, and those of the Church of Geneva; that a young man took the confidence soon after, in the same pulpit, to confute what the Bishop had said. This was so much noised abroad, that it was thought advisable to acquaint the Lord Treasurer with the whole business. Which the

BOOK IV.

said Bishop wrote him at large in his letter dated in May to this tenor:

Anno 1597.

His account of his sermon to the Lord Treasurer.

Epist. Episcop.

"That being stayed [from going home] by my Lord of "Canterbury to preach before her Majesty at the last Lent; "he thought it requisite likewise to appear at Paul's cross: "and according to that time made choice to speak of the "cross of Christ, which it pleased the Son of God to endure "for the redemption of mankind. That his purpose and "meaning was, in that great mystery of our salvation, to "deliver soberly and soundly the sum and substance of "that doctrine, which the Holy Ghost laid down in the "holy Scriptures. Whereto all the ancient Fathers bear "full witness. And because some new writers varied "touching the suffering and merits of Christ on the cross, "he acquainted my Lord of Canterbury, that he could "hardly wade through that doctrine effectually, but he "must refute in words, if not by proofs, the late device of "some writers, that Christ's suffering in soul the pains of "the damned, was the chiefer and principaler part of our "redemption. And that without that, the death of his "cross and blood-shed for us, as they said, had otherwise "done us little good. And because, he said, he was un-"known to the preachers and people, being out of his "charge, he would not professedly refel that conceit of late "writers, if he had thought it would seem new and strange "to them. But the doctrine of our redemption, he added, "he could not clear according to the Scriptures, but he "must relinquish that device to the first authors, as no "way mentioned or proved in the word of God. That the

The Archbishop's counsel to him in preaching on the subject.

"Archbishop then willed him, in God's name, not to halt in "so high a point of religion, but to speak the truth without "respect of men's additions, and yet, without disgracing "the writers, to neglect their particular fancies.

503

"Whereupon (as he went on in his relation of his ser-"mon to the said Lord) he took this course, to set down "the cause and price of our redemption by the merits and "blood of Christ, as sincerely and substantially as he could. "And withal shewed, that such as had fancied the suffer-

" ing of hell-pains to be the groundwork of our redemption, " had no warrant so to write nor to teach in the word of " God. And this truly did I, as he said, with as much Anno 1597. " modesty and reverence to the persons, otherwise minded, " as I could possibly; giving them as great testimony of " learning and pains, as to any writers: but not equal to " the Apostles; whose only labours are without errors.

" That upon the preaching thereof, it pleased a Bachelor " of Art, as he heard, even at Paul's cross, cunningly, as he " thought, to undermine the doctrine which he [the Bishop] " taught, under the name of the Jesuits', and to direct his " words against them: but indeed to reach at the conclu- " sions which the preacher supposed the Bishop had pub- " lished. Whereupon, the Bishop, not seeking the place at " the Spital, [next Easter,] but refusing it once or twice, " till my Lord of Canterbury had prayed him, and that as " from the Lord Mayor, to supply that place, and to make " an end of his former doctrine; did there again shortly " capitulate what he had taught [before at St. Paul's,] and " made full proof of it; somewhat more seriously, but so- " berly, impugning the former assertions of late writers, " about Christ's suffering the pains of hell in his soul."

This argument, it seems, was not so ended. For, as the Bishop proceeded, " the last term, one openly reading in " good audience, publicly undertook to handle the passion " of Christ; and very conclusively, as he thought, refelled " cert in reasons and resolutions of his [the Bishop's] in " such sort that every man must needs know whom he " meant. And besides, that there was a number of men " came every day to him, to be privately resolved, what was " the meaning of the Creed, that *Christ descended into hell*, " if he suffered not the pains of hell on the cross. For they " saw not, as they said, what sense that article could bear, " but the former." Whereupon he thus applied himself to the Treasurer; " Truly, my Lord, the multitude of resort- " ers to me did so importune me, that I was forced to pro- " mise them, that I would in the close of my doctrine " (though it were at first no part of my purpose) speak of

This controverted much in pulpits.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597.

" that article, what I thought the Scriptures would justify. " And in that sermon of his he shewed that the replies of " that reader were very unsound and very unsavory, if he " meant them in earnest, or spake them as he was inform- " ed. Otherwise he had no meaning to refel any man.

" These, in conclusion he said, were the occasions that " he had, and the courses that he held in this matter; " wherewith he took it his duty to advertise his Lordship, " lest he should be thought to affect novelties, and to breed " giddiness in the people's heads. That for the doctrine " itself, he refused no judge that could distinguish truth " from falsehood, how needful it was to be retained and " taught in the Church of Christ. And that hereof he would " have sent to his Lordship a copy, but that he hastened, " after my Lord of Canterbury had perused it, to commit it " to print: and from thence to send his Lordship a copy " of it presently, as soon as it should be finished. Not dis- " trusting, but that, when his grave and learned wisdom had " weighed it, his Lordship would also judge it fit to be " preached and published, at least as much as he first in- " tended. And so praying his Lordship's patience for his " long and tedious letter, and resting in all duty and thanks " his Lordship's, during life, he committed the same to the " merciful protection of Almighty God. London, the xix. of " May." Subscribing,

" Your Honour's in all duty,

" Tho. Winton."

And this, I suppose, was the ground of his book entitled, *The Survey of Christ's Sufferings.*

The sense of learned men concerning the article of the *descent.* Drawn out for the Lord Treasurer's use. MSS. Burghlian.

That truly religious and wise Lord was desirous to be informed more particularly of the opinions of the learned in this so mightily controverted article. And thereupon obtained, either from one of his chaplains, or some other learned man, an abstracted account thereof. Which I find among that Lord's papers, with this title, *De Descensu Christi ad Inferos:* and the time of the writing is there shewn by the endorsement of his own hand; *viz.* 12th of

March, 1597. It is a pretty large discourse, with many quotations out of the Fathers. First, the writer begins with the different opinions of learned men, and endeth with Bishop Bilson's, now Bishop of Winton. First, *Eorum qui prorsus tollunt hunc articulum:* i. e. of those that wholly take away this article. As Tertullian, Ireny, Augustin, Origen, and other of the Fathers: where they, speaking of the Creed, are wholly silent of this article. But those that acknowledged the article, and were of sounder judgment therein, varied in their sense of it. As the first sentence, but heretical, was of Christ's descent into hell in body and soul. 2. The sentence of the descent neither in body nor soul, *sed virtute tantum mortis suæ.* 3. The popish sense, that he descended to a certain *limbus;* which they called *limbus patrum.* Which the Protestants universally disowned and condemned. 4. The Protestants differed in their opinions, *viz.* some referred it to his *burial;* from the use of the Hebrew word *sheol* and the Greek word ᾅδης. Some to the humiliation of Christ. And others to the sufferings of his soul. As Calvin and others.

And that all these opinions were taken from the threefold sense of the word *hell* in Scripture, *viz.* for *burial,* for the *place of the damned,* and for the *torments of the soul.* This writer goes Calvin's way; which he calleth *positio tuta.* But lastly, he mentioned a fifth opinion of the *descent,* which was that of the Bishop of Winton's, referring it to the glory of Christ: to wit, "that after the great "work of our redemption was finished on the cross by his "corporal death only, by the dignity of him that suffered "this death, and his huge price for our disobedience paid "in his blood, his body resting in the grave, his soul de-"scended to the lowest hell: that he might make an ho-"nourable triumph and victory over his chief enemies, "death, sin, and the Devil." And so in the process the writer sheweth briefly the reasons urged for each opinion. And then in the conclusion he hath these words, *Hæc ego Dominationis tuæ jussu, tantum de multiplici expositione hujus articuli,* Descendit ad inferos, *propono. Tuæ erit*

BOOK IV.

sapientiæ, pro summo tuo judicio, de eisdem, prout videbitur æquissimum, statuere.

Anno 1597.

The Archbishop and Bishop Bilson of the same opinion with Broughton about the *descent*; as he shews to Ben Arama, a Jew.

But here I cannot but observe, no notice is taken by this writer of Mr. Broughton's opinion, among the rest: especially, considering what I find this learned man writing about this time, or not much after; reckoning that Bishop above mentioned, and the Archbishop, to have been now of his opinion in that article. The occasion of his writing this was, the reproach that a Jew, named Ben Arama, threw in the teeth of the Christians, *viz.* that their Saviour Jesus Christ went into hell. With whom therefore our foresaid English Rabbin had a mighty contest. For, said the Jew, if he went down to *hades*, he had not the highest joy. And to that present day the Jews slandered the Creed. And that only, as Broughton said, because it was illy translated and badly expounded. "But to answer the "Jews," said he, "we shall shew, that by the New Testa-

This the Church of England's faith.

"ment our Lord and all just men went to paradise: and this "was the Church of England's faith, (for which he then "alleged Archbishop Whitgift,) that the *hades* of the "Creed was paradise; as all the Greeks understood; and "as Bishop Bilson also (he added) in a sermon shewed "most learnedly in St. Paul's church. Where, handling "Scriptures and Fathers, he proved by both, that our Lord "went hence to the highest joy: and that we had no war-"rant in the word of God to fasten Christ's soul to hell for "the time of his death, and that he went not hence to "paradise. And that so the Bishop shewed, that all au-"thority willed, that all faithful went hence to paradise.

505 "And that all, both bishops and nobles, in England, con-"fessed, that Christ's paradise was the *hades* of the "Creed. And so it was a gross slander of Ben Arama, "that taught, that the Church ever believed that our Lord "went to *gehenna*. And that the barbarous translation, "*he descended into hell*, from England's speech, fitted "unto the most eloquent speech of the Creed, was *a going*

Broughton's Works, p. 362.

"*up to heaven*." And then mentioning some great scholar in Leyden, he added, "that that rarest person in Holland,

" the flower of Leyden, followed herein our ecclesiastical " Bishops." CHAP. XXI.

Anno 1597.

CHAP. XXII.

The condition of the Roman Catholics. Mr. George More's letter concerning them: and his motion for a toleration of them. Some notable sentences collected by the Archbishop, concerning war and peace with Spain. The Archbishop recommends one for knight of the shire for Kent. Bills and complaints brought into Parliament against abuses in the spiritual courts: as, licences for marriage: probat of wills: excessive fees. The Queen's message to the house hereupon. Orders of Convocation. Regulation of matters ecclesiastical. Visitation of the church of Canterbury.

THE state of the English Romanists at this time was the worse, by reason of the King of Spain's implacable malice against England, and his fierce purpose of invading the realm, and destroying the Queen, being set on by many English Priests and Jesuits abroad; particularly Holt and Parsons, who had a great stroke with that King, and were continually exciting him to those courses. And it fared the worse with all the Queen's subjects of that religion, both at home as well as abroad, for the malicious minds of some. So that many of those that lived abroad for their consciences, had little countenance from that King, except they engaged in Jesuitical practices, and offered themselves ready to do as they required them against their own country and sovereign. The state of the English Romanists.

One Mr. George More, of the north, (perhaps of the family of Sir Thomas More,) a considerable and learned gentleman, (who was now come into England from Flanders,) was one of this rejected sort. Many of these came to church, to satisfy the law, reserving closely to themselves, notwithstanding, their own religion. And many others

BOOK IV.

there were, both in London and abroad, that professed great loyalty to the Queen, as their lawful sovereign, and refused to fight under any power against her. These laboured for a *toleration*, as the best expedient to keep the Roman Catholics tight and sure to the welfare of their own nation. The foresaid Mr. More, having been cited before the Archbishop of York, by virtue, as it seems, of the commission for ecclesiastical causes in those parts, thought it his safest way to fly again. But that he might give no offence, removed himself out of the king of Spain's dominions, and lived at Liege. Whence he wrote a letter to the Lord Treasurer, of certain matters relating to himself, and to the state of the English Catholics abroad, and the distinction made among them by the Jesuits. Which giving so much light into the affairs of that religion at this time, it will not be unprofitable to give the contents of.

Anno 1597.

Some Romanists pretend great loyalty to the Queen, as their sovereign.

506

His letter to the Lord Treasurer for toleration of religion.

" That though he had been a Catholic from his infancy,
" yet never enemy to his country. And albeit he had
" some dealing with the Queen of Scotland, (for which, as
" his Lordship knew, he was called in question,) yet never
" intended to offend or prejudice the Queen's most excel-
" lent person. For he always had, he said, in remembrance,
" *Date Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, et quæ sunt Dei Deo.*
" But that seeing, notwithstanding his return home from
" Milan, and forsaking the king of Spain's service, he
" could neither be suffered to enjoy the liberty of his con-
" science, but was continually persecuted; nor the benefit
" of the law in causes of justice, but was mightily wrong-
" ed; and by these two means utterly ruined: and that
" considering a sentence against him in the Star-chamber,
" about Sir Thomas Stanhope's wears, and understanding
" the continuance of her Majesty's indignation against him,
" and the troubles that both he and his wife were like to
" fall into by reason of recusancy, being bound to appear
" before the Archbishop of York at a certain day; he was
" forced, he said, now again to abandon the realm; having,
" he thanked God, never to that day entered into any con-
" spiracy or practice against her Majesty or his country.

" And that arriving in Flanders, he sought to the King of " Spain, and the Governors in the Low Countries, for en- " tertainment and maintenance: but in the end he found " that one Parsons, an English Jesuit, had gotten that in- " terest with the King and his Council in Spain; and that " one Holt, another English Jesuit, had by Parsons's means " such credit in the Court of Flanders, as none of all our " nation could obtain any thing in either place but by their " means. And that they would favour none but such as " would follow their faction, be subject to them, and run " their course: whereunto he could not yield; though he " desired the conversion of his country to the Catholic " faith.

Anno 1597.

Parsons and Holt, English Jesuits.

" For that having had reasonable good understanding of " their proceedings, and made sufficient trial of Holt divers " ways, he found him to be a most wicked and monstrous " man; and that the course they ran into tended, for ought " he could perceive, to the ruin of our country, overthrow " of the monarchy, destruction of all the nobility, and to " bring England into perpetual bondage of the Spaniards: " they neither, as it seemed, added he, respecting religion, " (though they made it their cloak,) their native soil, nor " any thing else, but their own ambitious humour; per- " suaded by this means to attain to special authority and " government under the King of Spain.

" That therefore, rather than to be an instrument there- " in, or to subject himself to such a course, (though he had " entertainment offered him when he came from Brussels,) " he had retired himself to Liege, out of the King of Spain's " dominions, with resolution to take some other way with " himself, if possibly he could.

" And first he thought to seek for and most humbly to " crave her Majesty's most gracious favour, desirous to re- " turn into his own country; so that he might enjoy the " liberty of his conscience for him and his family. And " that for the rest, he protested unto his Lordship, he " would be most ready to venture himself in defence of " her Majesty and his country against any stranger what-

BOOK IV. Anno 1597.

" soever that should invade the realm. But that if liberty " of conscience might not be granted, (without which [he " roundly said] he would never return,) yet if he might " have her Majesty's favour, and some maintenance out of " his country, he would live in any Catholic place, forth of " the King of Spain's dominions, where it should please " her Majesty to command him, and do her Majesty from " time to time any service he could.

" And that if it might please her Majesty to have a gra- " cious respect to the Earl of Westmoreland, whereby he " might have some honourable means from her Majesty to " maintain himself, he was sure he could persuade him to " retire himself in like manner from the King of Spain. " Which, in his opinion, he said, would greatly import her " Majesty's service and good of our country. For howso- " ever saith he, you hold your state there secure in Eng-
507 " land, I know it standeth in most dangerous terms to be " a spoil to all the world, and to be brought into perpetual " bondage: and that, I fear, your Lordship, and the rest of " her Majesty's Council, will see, when it is too late. Would " to God therefore it might please her Majesty to grant " toleration of religion; whereby men's minds might be " appeased, and joined, all in one, for the defence of our " country. We see what safety it hath been for France: " how peaceable the kingdom of Polonia is, where no man's " conscience is forced: how the Germans live, being con- " trary in religion, without giving offence one to another. " And why should not we do the like, seeing every man " must answer for his own soul in the latter day? And " that religion is the gift of God, and cannot be beaten in- " to a man's head with a hammer. Well may men's bodies " be forced, but not their minds: and where force is used, " love is lost: and there the Prince and State is in danger. " For, as Misipsa, King of Numidia, and also the Emperor " Marcus Antonius was witness, it is not the abundance of " treasure, nor the multitude of soldiers, that maintaineth " a Prince, but the love of his subjects. For they most " safely reign, say they, who do engrave in the hearts of

" their subjects, not a fear by force, but a love by good " usage of them. And the saying of Geta to his father, the " Emperor Severus, is worthy to be noted; who, when the " Emperor had put a great number to death, and told him " he would leave him no enemies, asked him, If those " whom he had put to death had no parents, kinsfolks, nor " friends? Yes, said the Emperor, a great number. Then " you have left me [replied he] many more than you take " from me.

" Who had died in England since her Majesty had " reigned, and in what sort, his Lordship, he said, best " knew; and who likewise had been banished. But that " Augustus Cæsar, by voluntary pardoning his enemies, " and advancing them to dignities and offices, did win " their love and favour: as did also Scipio Africanus. Why " should not then her Majesty, as he proceeded, pardon " those that desired pardon, and favour those that loved " and honoured her, though they were of contrary religion? " That admit a man did a lawful act, yet doing of it against " his conscience, (as thousands, he said, did in England " against their consciences, for the avoiding of the penalty " of the law,) he damned his own soul, as appeared in the " 14th to the Romans. Therefore men that had care of " their souls, would rather suffer their country to be a spoil " to the enemy, and themselves and their posterity to be " brought in bondage, than their souls to be led daily to " damnation. For, as the Scripture saith, *what availeth* " *it a man, to gain all the world, and to lose his soul?* " The torments for the damned are so great and continued: " whereas Job saith, *sempiternus horror inhabitat.*"

Then he prayed, " that God would guide her Majesty " and her Council to his glory, and the general good of our " country. For which, he said, as duly as for himself, he " daily prayed; being all he could do. And he hoped that " neither her Majesty nor his Lordship would take this " his good meaning in evil part: discharging herein but " his duty, both towards God, and her Majesty, and his " country."

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597.

In conclusion; "that having always found his Lordship "his honourable good Lord, so he presumed of the con- "tinuance thereof: and now addressed himself unto him, "most humbly beseeching him to move her Majesty in his "behalf, and also for the Earl of Westmoreland. And that "his Lordship would vouchsafe to let him have some an- "swer concerning them both before the midst of October "next; for that he had not whereby to stay longer in those "parts: and that he thought good to send that bearer, his "man, with his letter, for the more safety and better in- "forming his Lordship of his desire; and to see, if he could "get any relief from his friends, if it pleased his Lordship "to give him leave to deal with them herein, and them to "relieve him." It was dated from Liege, 24. Aug. 1597. Signed, "George More."

508 By this fore-recited letter appeared the condition then of this Church and nation from English Papists, of whom there were such vast numbers both at home and abroad: and how hypocritical the professions of the established religion and obedience to the Queen, in many of them, were: and what great likelihood of dismal calamities even a Papist himself, and he a knowing person, apprehended near at hand; as well from the formidable power and malice of Spain, as from the readiness of the bigoted subjects to undertake any treason against their Queen and country.

The Archbishop's judgment of war and peace with Spain.

And here I will insert certain wise sentences, collected by our Archbishop, mostwhat out of Greek and Roman authors, which he propounded perhaps as a Privy Counsellor, when deep consultation was had concerning Spain, and concerning assisting the Netherlanders against King Philip's tyrannies, and about war and peace: all of his own hand-writing. But whether this fell under this year, or some time before, I cannot assert. These sentences were as follow:

Vide book iii. chap. 13.

MSS. G. Petyt, Armig.

Qui desiderat pacem præparat bellum.

Sine religione arma non vincunt. Et religio sine armis vincit.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1597.

Restituitur arca Domini, Helia mortuo, absque armis. Qui sapiunt, bellum absolvunt celeritèr; pace fruuntur quàm possunt diutissimè. Appian.

Solvunt pacem, non qui bellum primi movent, sed qui per insidias fœderum tempore arma capiunt. Procopius.

Fœdifragi sunt, qui confœderatis suis auxilia denegant. Thucydid.

Bella pacis causa suscipiuntur. Arist.

Fugienda quidem sunt bella, sed non ita tamen, ut pessima quæque, ne suscipiamus bella, perpeti velimus. Polyb.

Vel infelix bellum paci, quæ seditionem domi movet, est præferendum. Liv.

Vicini populi auxilio juvandi, priusquam à potentioribus opprimantur. Nam his oppressis, postea facile hi ipsi in prædam cedunt, qui illos adjuvare neglexerint. Liv.

Semper justum bellum est, quibus omnino necessarium. Liv.

His directions for a knight of the shire to be elected. MSS. T. Bret, LL.D.

A new Parliament being called this year, began October 24. But the Archbishop took what care he could to prevent unfit men, especially disaffected to the present constitution of the Church, from coming there. We have one instance of this about this time; that when Sir William Brook, Knight of the Shire for Kent, was dead, the election for a new knight coming on, January 16, he wrote to the Suffragan of Dover, that his earnest desire was, that Sir Moyl Finch might be chosen thereunto. And prayed him therefore to use the utmost of his best endeavours, both by himself and friends, to gather what voices he could against the same day for the said Sir Moyl, and to bestow the same upon him. Adding, that it would be well that his bailiffs would have warning to give notice thereof to all his tenants, servants, and friends, to whom it should appertain. And so not doubting of their readiness herein, he committed them to God. Dated from Lambeth.

The Parliament now no more struck at the foundation of the ecclesiastical government of the Church, nor at the form of the public worship and usages of it. But some of the practices of the spiritual courts were sharply pecked at,

BOOK IV.

and some bills brought in against abuses that had formerly been complained of; namely, of the abuses of licences for marriage, granted by ecclesiastical persons. Against which one moved, Nov. 10, and prayed, that reformation might be had thereof by the House. And the next day a committee was appointed, to draw a bill for that purpose. The first mover of it was Sir Thomas Cecil, the Lord Treasurer's eldest son. This was occasioned from a late incestuous marriage. Nov. 11, another moved touching the abuses of probats of wills. And another bill was brought in for the better answering of tithes and subsidies of the Clergy. When, three days after, these abuses by licences for marriage without banns asking were moved again in the House; and likewise probats of testaments, and processes *ex officio* by ecclesiastical officers in matters of the same.

Anno 1597. Bills brought into Parliament against abuses in spiritual courts. D'Ewes' Journ. p. 555.

509 Besides these, a great heap of more grievances in the Church were thrown into the Parliament by bills put in by divers persons, but were not read, by means, no doubt, of some higher influence. They were these, (as I transcribe them from a MS. entitled, *A Note of general Grievances in the Church complained of*,) "First, Of excessive fees in "the spiritual courts; which in some places will be proved "to be increased from 12*d.* to 20*s.* It was alleged, that "the temporal lawyers take more: and therefore the spi- "ritual are not so much to be blamed. To this it is an- "swered, that to give excessive fees is either the bounty "of the client, or his cause required it: but to demand "double or treble fees, set down in certainty by canon and "statute law, is extortion in both spiritual and temporal "lawyers. *Item*, Of delays of suits in the spiritual courts; "which make the former fees more intolerable: for they "may be compared to grievous sores, delayed from being "cured only for the gain of the surgeon. *Item*, Of cita- "tions, *ex officio*, upon public fame, for the appearance of "mean persons, and for small causes: and a toleration of "offences in great persons; which is coloured, because "none doth present them. These mighty men, they make

A Note of Grievances in the Church complained of in this Parliament. Cott. Libr. Cleopatra, F. 2.

" a profession of sin; and they never leave it, till soul and " body part. The example is all for the inferior sort; and " doth cause them to think adultery and fornication [too " commonly practised in those days by the gentry] to be " no offences. *Item*, Of the mighty disturbance in the pro- " bat of wills, where men have goods in divers dioceses. " *Item*, Of the irreligious use of excommunication; some- " time for 2*d*. or 3*d*. being of itself the highest censure in " the Church, if it were used according to the word of God. " *Item*, Of the covetous use of visitations: whereby men's " purses, not their manners, are searched into. *Item*, Of " the hurt that comes by barring of askings in the Church, " and granting of licences to marry. These marriages are " made in places peculiar, which are desired to be annexed " to the bishoprics, by vagrant, unlearned, dissolute, drunk- " en, and idle Stipendiaries, Vicars, and Curates: who are " placed in the rooms of the rich men; who have divers " livings, and are not resident. And they receive the pro- " fits; and instead of thankfulness to God, serve him by " deputies.

" *Item*, Of the abuse of governors of hospitals; who rob " the poor, and convert things given to alms to their own " private uses: a great offence to God, and to God's [good] " works. *Item*, Of the ill usage of Masters of colleges; " who convert the college profits, given and ordained to " the advancement of learning, to the preferment of them- " selves, their wives, and children. And as if all matters " were *venalia Romæ*, so there are fellowships and scho- " larships bought and sold in the Universities: and poor " scholars, that labour, and are worthy of preferment, are " kept back, or quite discouraged. And for money, rich " men's children (who for the most part are the worst " scholars) be preferred: which filleth the church and com- " monwealth with unskilful and unable Ministers. *Item*, A " grievance no way inferior to the former, is the ungodly " use of the statute of the 13th of her Majesty, concerning " faith and sacraments: by which men are forced to sub- " scription, and are forced to accuse themselves. And

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597.

" lastly, the overstrait and curious observance of the sta-
" tute of *primo* of her Majesty, concerning ceremonies.
" For the redress of both these is desired to be confirmed
" by a law in Parliament, an explanation of the statute of
" 13° and a qualification of *primo* of her Majesty."

A bill put in against Commissaries' three week courts.

There was a bill drawn up also against commissaries' courts held every three weeks, which I conjecture belongs also to this Parliament: containing complaints of abuses, greatly grievous to the Queen's Majesty's subjects, offered daily to them by the inferior ecclesiastical officers, *viz.* by the Archdeacons, Officials, Commissaries, and their Registers, by colour of their ecclesiastical jurisdictions, to the infinite trouble and great charge (as it is worded) of every particular diocese within the realm. This may be found among the records in the Appendix, being too long to be inserted in the History.

N°. XXXV.

510 The Queen takes these matters into her own hands.

But the Queen now again found out a way to put some check to these proceedings in Parliament, while they meddled with her Bishops and spiritual matters belonging to them. For upon these motions again in the House, Sir J. Fortescue, Chancellor of the Exchequer, shewed the Parliament that the Queen had yesterday called Mr. Secretary and himself unto her; and told them, that she had been informed of the horrible and incestuous marriage discovered in the House: and that she, minding due punishment and redress of the same, had commanded to take information of the grievances in particular from the members of this House: that her Highness, having certain notice hereof, might thereupon give order for the due punishment and redress accordingly. This was to take ecclesiastical matters, as it seems, out of their hands. Whereupon sundry speeches were made, tending to sundry courses; but most of them very well liking the foresaid message, delivered to the House from her Majesty; the committee, who had been appointed before to draw a bill touching these abuses, appointed now to meet, to receive informations of the grievances touching ecclesiastical causes that same day moved in the House.

CHAP. XXII.

I meet with a paper containing divers instances of the mischiefs that have been occasioned by licences for marriage: which seems to have been the information brought to the abovesaid committee in Parliament, pursuant to the Queen's order. It is entitled, *A Note of incestuous and unlawful Marriages made by Licences, by vagrant Ministers and lawless Peculiars.* Therein an information is given of one that married a woman in Suffolk lawfully one day; and she carried away from him, and married the next day by a licence: living still with the latter, her first husband being yet alive. And of another woman, in the county of Northampton, that, being ninety-two years old, and lying on her death-bed, was married to a young man of two and twenty, by a licence, about six o'clock at night, and was dead the next morning before two. And of a young man in Oxford, who was Mr. Thinn's son and heir, married without his father's consent, by a licence: and the youth now fled beyond sea; desiring to be disinherited, rather than to have his match stand good. Informations were also brought of some of these marriages by licence very incestuous and abominable: as, of some marrying two sisters; another marrying his brother's wife; another marrying his own mother's sister; and another that married his own father's wife. Some married by a pretended Minister without holy Orders, and by a parish-clerk: and all by licences. And many more, which may be seen in that paper, exemplified in the Appendix. N. XXXVI.

Anno 1597. Mischiefs of licences for marriage. Cleopatra F. 2.

A bill also was brought in, Nov. 28, against excessive fees of ecclesiastical Judges, and other officers and ministers; and delivered unto Mr. Speaker. The Archbishop commonly used to take these warnings of petitions and motions in Parliament touching the Church's affairs: and endeavours were used by his means, in Convocation, to rectify and amend all abuses reasonably complained of. I find these things done by him this year. He made a table of fees to be taken by his officers in any suit or business that came into his courts: that they might not give any occasion of complaint of oppression to the subject, as many

The Archbishop appoints the fees to be taken by his officers.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597.

that had causes depending there were wont to do. Which was enjoined again in the first of King James, by the 135th canon, to this tenor: "That no Bishop, Suffragan, "Chancellor, Commissary, Archdeacon, Official, nor any "other exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatsoever; "nor any Register of any ecclesiastical courts; nor any "Minister belonging to any of the said offices, shall here-"after, for any cause incident to their several offices, take "or receive any other or greater fees, than such as were "certified to the most reverend Father John, late Arch-"bishop of Canterbury, in the year of our Lord 1597. And "were by him ratified and approved, under pain that every "such Judge, Officer, or Minister offending herein, shall be "suspended from the exercise of their several offices, for "the space of six months, for every such offence."

Articles brought into the Convocation for the keeping of parish registers.

In this Convocation now sitting, Nov. 18, a note was brought in by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, of certain points to be considered of, for the better keeping of the book of christenings, burials, and marriages hereafter. "*Imprimis*, That the injunctions in this behalf already
511 "provided, be given hereafter in charge in all visitations, "to be straitly and orderly kept in every parish. 2. *Item*, "That for the more credit of the record in this behalf, the "book hereafter shall be in parchment, and written in a "fair legible hand: and so certified in every Bishop's visi-"tation the names of such as have been christened, buried, "or married, between one visitation and another. 3. *Item*, "That every Sunday next after any such christenings, mar-"riages, or burials, all the names entered into the said "book the week before, with the day of the month thereof, "shall be read publicly in the church, presently after "morning and evening prayer, out of the said parchment "book. Which book shall not be kept either by the Clerk "or by the Minister alone, as have been in too many pa-"rishes heretofore, but in the common chest in the church, "under three keys: the Churchwardens to keep theirs "with the Minister, according to the injunctions in that "behalf. 4. *Item*, That there be yearly a true copy hereof

" sent out of every parish to the Bishop's consistory: and " there the same to be yearly recorded in one other book " for that purpose. 5. *Item*, That all old decayed paper " books, made since the said injunctions, shall be with all " convenient speed again fair written out into the aforesaid " new parchment books in every parish: and the same to " be examined, *viz.* the old and the new copy, that they " may agree in all points. 6. *Item*, That for the avoiding " of all corrupt dealing, in the altering of the true age of " any party or otherwise, that in the new parchment book, " unto every several page, the Parson or Vicar resident, or, " in their absence, the Curate there, together with both " Churchwardens, shall subscribe their names, for a more " confirmation of the truth of every particular therein."

Anno 1597.

Motions for reformation in matters ecclesiastical. Cleopatra F. 2.

I meet also with another paper for the regulation of the courts civil, entitled, *Motions for Reformation in Matters Ecclesiastical*. Wherein mention is made of the regulation of licences for marriage, and of fees. I place it here, as probably made under this Parliament, though I do it but by guess, the year not appearing. Whereby may be seen several abuses, that now were crept into the courts, fit to be redressed. These motions, whether they were offered from the Convocation to the Parliament, or in some other bills, I cannot assign.

" I. That every layman that taketh upon him to exercise " the office of a Minister publicly in any church, may have " his goods confiscated, and endure ecclesiastical censure " for the same.

" II. That no advowson be sold alone, but together with " some manor, or some other generality of possession.

" III. That all money for commutation of penance for " any offence be tendered in open court, and given by the " Judge presently there, in presence of the party, to some " discreet person, to bestow in some godly uses: as to re- " lieve soldiers now set on shore, &c. [as returning home " from the wars in France or the Low Countries,] ordinary " fees to the Ordinary and Register reserved.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597.

" IV. That no person be licensed to marry, the banns " not thrice asked; unless he have in goods and lands to " the value of 10*l.* in the Queen's books." [It was an *hundred marks*, but blotted out, and 10*l.* put in the place.]

" V. That no jurisdiction, nor office of justice to the " Church belonging, be let to farm, or sold directly or in- " directly, *sub pœna* 100*l.* and loss of his place so cor- " rupted.

" VI. That Lord Bishops may appoint surveyors of " church lands, and keep a perfect *terres* [terrier] of them. " And may use ecclesiastical censures against those that " unjustly detain them.

" VII. That none be made Minister, but a Graduate of " one of the Universities.

" VIII. That the function of Doctors of the Law may be " distinguished from the office of Procurators; and set " down what belongeth to them severally.

" IX. That none be hereafter admitted Procurator, Re- " gister, or Notary, that is not a Bachelor of Law.

512 " X. That Lawyers, Registers, Procurators, and Notaries, " take not above the fees, set down in a table of every " court where they exercise, under pain of suspension from " their place for a year.

" XI. That all Counsellors and Sergeants at Law, that " take above the fees set down in a table of the court " where they exercise, be suspended *per annum*.

" XII. That the plaintiff in the Chancery deliver a copy " of his bill freely to the defendant: and that the defend- " ant, in person appearing, be not enforced to retain any " Attorney, so long as he giveth personal attendance in " court.

" XIII. That Doctors in the Law may plead, and pen " pleadings, any replies, rejoinders, in all courts of equity; " as the Chancery, Court of Request, &c. for the subjects " that shall think fit to employ them.

" XIV. That Doctors in Law, Advocates in the Law, re- " tained for the defendants, may inform, if they think there

" be an insufficiency in the suggestions made for the ob-
" taining of prohibitions, before they be awarded against
" proceedings ecclesiastical.

" XV. That a Doctor of Law take not above 10*s.* for his
" pleading and counsel in any cause for one term; except
" for the pains in making, conveying, and writing things
" requisite in the cause, such usual fees as have been or-
" dinarily taken for the same, *sub pœna suspensionis per*
" *annum.*

" XVI. That no Doctor, Sergeant, Counsellor, Attorney,
" or Procurator, retain above an hundred causes at one
" time in his hand, *sub pœna suspensionis per annum.*"

And because some in the Parliament had set so hard against licences to marry without banns, shewing the many mischiefs that had followed upon them, or at least upon the granting of them so hastily, and to any persons; and that therefore it were better that the Bishops and their courts were wholly deprived of the power of granting them, (a thing that seemed now to be aimed at;) certain *reasons* were offered by this Convocation, (as it seems probable that the Archbishop himself might have a hand therein,) in behalf of licences: to prove that these were no cause of disordered marriages, but rather the contrary. For they expressed all causes that might be any lets of marriage; and no licences were yielded to marry in those cases: but moreover, to the prohibition of the law, a restraint by bonds also was added. And that it was a matter, not only not hurtful, but also very profitable to be continued in the commonwealth: this shewn in divers respects of the persons to be married. That the parties to whom it pertained properly by the laws and customs of the realm to grant them, were the fittest to whom still the same might be permitted: since they were the persons appointed to determine of matrimony itself. And that whereas it was thought convenient that the hand of the Archbishop or Bishop should be subscribed to all licences; great inconveniences might arise thence: for they must give credit to

Reasons for licences to marry, against a bill in Parliament. Cleopatra F. 2.

BOOK IV.

their under-officers, &c. This paper being somewhat long, I had rather the reader would peruse, where it is exemplified and faithfully transcribed.

Anno 1597.

Number XXXVII.

Laws and ordinances for the Church.

I find a book written, considerably big, of laws and ordinances to be allowed by the Queen, in relation to the good of the Church and churchmen; tending both to the better establishment and favour of the civil and ecclesiastical courts. Of which I cannot certainly fix the time, but as near as I can, I judge it to belong to this Convocation; and drawn up by the care, pains, and order of the Archbishop. The titles whereof are these that follow:

"The ancient writ *De excommunicato cap.* not to be "impeached by any device or construction.

"The treble value of the tithes to be sued only in the "ecclesiastical court.

"No ecclesiastical officer to be vexed for serving of "process.

513 "Ecclesiastical Judges to have power to convent laymen "in all causes that are of ecclesiastical connusance, as well "as in matters concerning testaments or matrimony.

"Temporal matters pleaded in a court ecclesiastical, "incident or in bar, not to be a sufficient cause for a pro-"hibition.

"These words, *quæ non de testamento et matrimonio*, "not to be inserted in a prohibition, but where there is "just cause.

"Tithes to be sued in courts ecclesiastical.

"Assistance to be given by Justices of Peace to ecclesi-"astical Judges.

"Laymen to have equal favour with Clergymen, in suits "for tithes before ecclesiastical Judges.

"No prohibition to be granted but in court, and upon "sight of the ecclesiastical libel.

"When there is question, whether a prohibition lie, the "Lord Chancellor to be the judge.

"No second prohibition to be granted upon one libel.

"The carrying away of tithes from the Parson, after they

" are set out, shall not take the connusance of that offence " from our ecclesiastical courts.

" Such to be censured as do advise men to procure un- " due prohibitions.

" Such to be censured as do of themselves procure undue " prohibitions.

" The Archbishop, and not the temporal Judge, is to judge " of the convenience of dispensations and *commendams*.

" Clergymen not to be arrested in their churches or " churchyards.

" That the writ *De cautione admittenda* be circum- " spectly granted.

" Ecclesiastical Judges to proceed in ecclesiastical causes " without a special licence for every particular cause.

" One court shall not prejudice another in the ancient " forms of their proceedings.

" Ecclesiastical censures and prohibitions, the means to " stay the encroaching of one court upon another.

" Courts ecclesiastical and temporal not to encroach one " upon another.

" Ecclesiastical courts and Judges not to be depraved.

" Temporal courts and Judges not to be traduced by any.

" Ministers not to be easily indicted for common bar- " retors.

" Ministers not without great cause to be convented " before temporal magistrates.

" The liberties of the Church and Clergy not to be im- " peached by any act of Parliament, but in express terms." For the discourses upon each of these articles, I refer the reader to Mr. Petyt's MSS. vol. C.

Constitutions made in this Convocation.

In fine, there were debated in this Convocation, (over which our Archbishop presided,) and finally concluded upon and confirmed, divers very good and useful constitutions, under these chapters, *viz.* 1. That fit men be admitted to sacred Orders and to ecclesiastical benefices: which was an article in the synod held at London anno 1584. 2. Of restraining the plurality of benefices. 3. That those that were

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597.

beneficed should exercise hospitality in their benefices that had cures. 4. That Deans and Canons should preach sermons in their turns in cathedral churches. 5. In moderating indulgences for the celebration of matrimony, without the banns asking thrice. 6. Of not giving sentences of divorce rashly. 7. Of reforming excesses about excommunication. 8. Of publicly denouncing recusants, and other excommunicate persons. 9. Of moderating the commutation of solemn penance. 10. Of fees which are due to ecclesiastical officers and their ministers. 11. Of reforming the excesses of Apparitors. 12. Of committing to safe keeping the register in churches.

These were afterwards allowed by the Queen's Majesty, by her letters patents, bearing date the 18th of January, in the 40th year of her reign: and propounded, promulgated, and commanded, by the same her letters patents, to be observed by her Clergy of both provinces of Canterbury and
514 York, &c. They were printed anno 1597, at London, with this title, *Capitula, sive Constitutiones Ecclesiasticæ per Archiepiscopum, Episcopos, et reliquum Clerum Cantuar. Provinciæ, in Synodo inchoata Londini*, MDXCVII. &c. and may be found in Bishop Sparrow's Collection of Articles, Injunctions, &c. All this was but the substance of what was decreed in the Convocation anno 1584, as may be seen under that year.

Orders for the church of Canterbury offered the Archbishop: with his approbation of them.

To which I add the result of a commission from the Archbishop, for a visitation of his cathedral church of Canterbury; which happened not long after this last Convocation. Here it was found that some Petty Canons, that had vicarages in the town, and houses thereon, did not lodge there, but within the church. That some Clerks had their wives or women servants in their chambers in the dormitory. Children, girls as well as boys, besides the choristers, were taught in the church. Some people, that were strangers, rented houses within the precincts of the church, that came not to the Sacrament monthly celebrated there. The Petty Canons, singing-men, and other inferior ministers

and servants, were often absent from the first service in the morning. And some belonging to the church kept ale-houses, &c. Whereupon the visitors framed certain good orders for the good government of the church, and the regulation of such as belonged unto it; and offered them, with their informations, unto the Archbishop; who, by marginal notes added to each article, gave his judgment and approbation of them. And this paper also I transmit among the other original MSS. into the Appendix. Number XXXVIII.

CHAP. XXII.

Anno 1597.

CHAP. XXIII.

515

Consecration of Dr. Bancroft for Bishop of London. The great character given of him by the Archbishop, and his services. Mr. Broughton disappointed of this bishopric; angry with the Archbishop again. The great dilapidations of St. Paul's, and the Bishop's houses. Other Bishops confirmed. Mr. Hooker's fifth book of Ecclesiastical Polity comes forth. Some things noted in his dedication thereof to the Archbishop.

FRIDAY, May the 6th, 1597, 39 Eliz. was the confirmation of the election of Richard Bancroft, S. T. P. (who was Chaplain to the Lord Chancellor Hatton and the Archbishop successively,) for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of St. Paul's, London, in the church of St. Mary le Bow; before Richard Cosin, LL. D. the Archbishop's Vicar General and Principal Official. His election by the Dean and Chapter of Paul's was made unanimously April 21. His consecration was performed May the 8th at Lambeth, by the Archbishop; John, Bishop of Rochester, Anthony, Bishop of St. David's, Richard, Bishop of Bangor, and Anthony, Bishop of Chichester, assisting.

Dr. Bancroft consecrated Bishop of London.

The bringing of Dr. Bancroft into this see, which met with some opposition, was owing in a great measure to the hand and activity of the Archbishop; and the finishing work, to the Lord Treasurer; Mr. Broughton having a consider-

BOOK IV.

able interest with some at Court to obtain it from him, (as we shall hear;) and another party representing Bancroft as popishly affected. But a great character of the worth and good deservings of Dr. Bancroft was sent, by the Archbishop's order and directions, to the Court concerning him; *viz.* "That his conversation had been without blame in the "world, having never been complained of, detected, or, for "ought he knew, suspected of any extraordinary enormity. "That he had taken all the degrees in school, as other men "had done, and with equal credit. He had been a preacher "against Popery above twenty-four years, and was certain- "ly no *Papist*. Indeed he was not of the *Presbyterial* fac- "tion. That since he had professed divinity, he had ever op- "posed himself against all sects and innovations. That by "the appointment of Archbishop Grindal he once visited the "diocese of Peterborough. That about twelve years since "he was likewise a visitor of the diocese of Ely. That he "was sent from Cambridge to preach at Bury, when the "pretended reformation was begun there, *without staying* "*for the magistrate*, as the term then was; and when the "Sheriff could hardly get any Preacher in that country that "either would or durst oppose themselves against it. At his "being at Bury he detected to the Judges the writing of a "poesy written about her Majesty's arms, taken out of "the Apocalypse, but applied to her Highness most falsely "and seditiously. It had been set up a quarter of a year "in a most public place without controlment. I note "[saith the writer] these two last points, partly for the ef- "fects that follow of them, and because he was greatly ma- "ligned by no mean persons for doing his duty in both.

"He remained with the late Lord Chancellor twelve years "at the least in her Majesty's Court; and was in good re- "putation with him, and often employed in sundry matters "of greater importance for her Highness' service. That "since his said Lordship's death, he had remained with the "like credit five years almost with the Lord Archbishop "of Canterbury. That he had been of her Majesty's com- "mission general for causes ecclesiastical throughout Eng-

Anno 1597.

The Archbishop's character of him. MSS. G. Petyt, Armig.

" land almost twelve years. In which time there had been " few causes of any importance dealt in, either at Lambeth " or London, wherein he had not been an assistant.

" That he was by his diligent search the first detecter of 516
" Martin Marprelate's press and books: where and by " whom they were printed, &c. He was a special man that " gave the instructions to her Majesty's learned Council, " when Martin's agents were brought into the Star-cham- " ber. By his advice that course was taken, which did " principally stop Martin's and his fellows' mouths; *viz.* to " have them answered after their own vain writings. That " by his diligence to find out certain letters and writings, " Mr. Cartwright and his complices, their setting up of their " discipline secretly in most shires of the realm, their " *classes*, their decrees, and books of discipline, were first " detected. The chief instructions were had from him, " whereby her Majesty's learned Council framed their bill " and answers against Mr. Cartwright and the rest in the " Star-chamber. By his letter, written, at the command- " ment of the Lord Chancellor, to himself, her Majesty was " thoroughly informed of the state of the Church; how " it then stood, and how far the said factious persons had " impeached her Highness's authority and the government " established.

" That by his only diligence Penry's seditious writings " were intercepted, as they came out of Scotland, and deli- " vered to the now Lord Keeper. His earnest desire to have " the slanderous libel against her Majesty answered, and " some pains of his taken therein, would not be omitted. " Because they shewed his true affection and dutiful heart " unto her Highness. That his sermon at Paul's Cross, " the first Sunday in the Parliament 1587, (being afterward " printed by direction from the Lord Chancellor and Lord " Treasurer,) was to special purpose, and did very much " abate the edge of the faction. That the last Parliament " he did set out two books [a] in defence of the state of the " Church, and against the pretended holy discipline. Which

[a] Dangerous Positions; and, Survey of the pretended Discipline.

BOOK IV.

"were liked and greatly commended by the learnedest men "of the realm.

Anno 1597. "That he had been a special man of his calling, that the "Lord Archbishop of Canterbury had used for the space "of nine or ten years, in all the stirs which had been made "by the factious against the good estate of the Church; "which had procured him great dislike among those who "were that way inclined. And that though he had been "careful and earnest to suppress some sorts of sectaries, "yet had he therein shewed no tyrannous disposition; but "with mildness and kind dealing, when it was expedient, "had reclaimed divers. That while he had been occupied "for fifteen or sixteen years, as had been expressed, seven-"teen or eighteen of his juniors (few or none of them being "of his experience) had been preferred; eleven to dean-"eries, and the rest to bishoprics. Of which number, some "had been formerly inclined to faction, and the most as "neuters, or expected the issue; that so they might, as "things should fall out, run with the time.

"That they that listed might enter into the considera-"tion hereof particularly. That he had been long in speech "for the bishopric of London. That his late good Lord-"ship [*i. e.* Lord Chancellor Hatton] told him the summer "before he died, that her Majesty was purposed to have "removed Bishop Elmer to Worcester, and have preferred "him to London. That Bishop Elmer offered thrice in "two years to have resigned his bishopric unto him, upon "certain conditions, which he refused. That Bishop El-"mer signified the day before his death, how sorry he was "that he had not written unto her Majesty, and commend-"ed his late suit unto her Highness, *viz.* to have made him "his successor. And lastly, that since the death of the last "Bishop, no man had been so commonly named for that place "as he; nor so generally thought to be more fit for it."

Broughton disappointed of the bishopric of London. Angry therefore with the Archbishop again.

This preferment of Dr. Bancroft created a new displeasure against the Archbishop in the mind of Mr. Broughton, as thinking himself much beyond that Divine in regard of

learning; and with whom he had been bickering before about the sense of the article of the *descent* of Christ into hell. He was ambitious of a bishopric, and had promise of this of London. How he resented this disappointment appears in a letter he had the assurance to write to the Queen, and to print it afterwards. The sum whereof was, "how some "of the Lords of the Council had sent Dr. Cæsar unto him, "to tell him that they thought his studies not inferior for "judgment in divinity to any in England, and that they "intended to solicit the Queen for some preferment for "him; and that he should require of him what it was "that he especially desired. And that what Dr. Cæsar "should move for him to the Queen, they would second. "But that he left to their Lordships' good pleasure. And "that the Queen should be his chooser, not himself, as he sent "back his answer." But indeed he looked greedily for the bishopric of London: "according as those Lords' intention "was (as he added) to move her Majesty to bestow that "charge upon him. But that the Archbishop was against "him, and that he meant to move her for Dr. Bancroft. "And that this report being noised about by the Clerks of "the Council, they talked how the Archbishop would work "himself a disgrace by being an hinderance to him at this "time, when he was about to *open* the *Bible* to her Majesty, "as he expressed it; meaning, by his new translation of it "out of the Hebrew. And further, that a certain Bache- "lor of Divinity, of Ripon, (who knew the purpose of the "Lords for Broughton, and was concerned for him,) had re- "paired to Lambeth out of good will, to advise the Arch- "bishop better: but he could not have fit talk with him. "And before he could go again, he [the Archbishop] "brake out, as it was expected; [that is, in moving for "Bancroft.]

"That Divine of Ripon was to have told the Archbishop, "had he had fit opportunity, how that Broughton, upon the "next injury, was resolved to leave the Queen's govern- "ment, and to go into Scotland to the King; who had in- "vited him, and offered him the best preferment he had.

517

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597. Reproaches the Archbishop for his Latin studies.

"Upon this he fell to disparaging the Archbishop's learning, "and extolling his own; calling it sometimes, in reproach, "the Archbishop's *Latin studies*, and sometimes his *Latin* "and *Greek studies only:* and praying her Highness to "try his learning: assuring her that all his Latin studies "would never expound St. Stephen's oration, [in the viith "chapter of the Acts,] as he himself had done, by his skill "in sacred chronology, by Hebrew learning. And withal "told her, that strangers thanked her Majesty for clearing "St. Stephen by his pen. He desired the Queen, that she "would satisfy herself, whether her high preferred Archbi- "shop, or the defender of her faith, [meaning himself, in "respect of his showing the right sense of the Scripture, "which was her *faith*,] deserved better acceptation for "ground of study. That although his travail in this kind "might have moved the Archbishop to favour his pains, as "the temporal lords did, and although his diligence might "have stirred his love, it stirred only his envy. That he "had writ to him with a goodly thread he had spun, having "received 50,000*l.* of the Church, and was counted but a "scholar [*i. e.* a learner] in the greatest matters. That the "Archbishop knew that he [Broughton] afforded him good "language, and that he laboured to countenance him, [the "Archbishop;] but yet he was ready, if he [the Archbishop] "would never end his injuries, to call him to account for "all at once." After this haughty peevish manner did this otherwise learned man, puffed up with a conceit of himself, express his offence against the Archbishop, for getting his own Chaplain (and a man that had done such great service for many years past to the Church, and likely to do much more) preferred before him: whom the prudent Archbishop saw well would never have made a good governor in the Church; of whatever good use he was and might have been to it for his oriental learning.

The new Bishop writes to the Lord Treasurer for resti-

This new Bishop, within a week after his consecration, intending to live in the port that was required and expected from him, and for the reimbursing himself the great charges he had been at upon his entrance to his see, ap-

plied to the Lord Treasurer for the restitution of the temporalties belonging thereto; and that they might be restored to him from Michaelmas last: writing to him in this manner: "That although the bishopric of London were a preferment much above his deserts, yet, as the estate of it was, he should be greatly distressed, except her Majesty would be pleased to continue her princely favour towards him in his restitution. That the charge of the entrance of his housekeeping, (though it were but at Westminster [where he then was] for a time,) of provision for householdstuff, and of necessary reparation before he could enter into either of the houses, would be so great, that, without her Highness' said restitution from Michaelmas, he should be cast so far behindhand, as he must be driven to live in other sort than he would be glad to do, (the place he held being of some better expectation,) or run into very great debt; which he would be very loath to endure. His most humble desire therefore was, that as his Lordship wrought out the conclusion of this his preferment, so his Lordship would be pleased to continue his goodness still unto him, for the moving again of her Majesty in his behalf. Whereby his Lordship, having made him a Bishop, should make him able to live in some reasonable sort like a Bishop; and so finish most honourably his own handywork. And so craving pardon, in presuming to trouble his Lordship in this bold manner, he committed his Lordship, by his hearty prayers, unto the tuition of Almighty God. At the Court, the 16th of May, 1597." Subscribing,

Anno 1597. Restitution of his temporalties.

518

"His Lordship's most humbly at commandment,

"Ric. London."

For indeed he found both the cathedral church and his houses in great decay: his house in London ready to fall down. The reparation of which had cost him since Midsummer a thousand marks. The charges of repairing the church were computed to amount to 4,051*l.* The ruins and dilapidations of which church, together with those of the

The decays of the cathedral church and the houses.

BOOK IV.

houses belonging to the bishopric, were found, upon survey by viewers of sundry occupations, to amount to 6,513*l.* 14*s.*

Anno 1597. So that not long after Bancroft became Bishop, he obtained a sentence in the Arches against Bishop Aylmer's son for 4,210*l.* 20*d.* But by reason of purchases made by that Bishop, having purchased so much land as cost him 16,000*l.* there was not found remaining sufficient goods and money left; namely, not above 1,000*l.* out of which only these dilapidations were to be made good. This caused the Bishop to write to the Lord Treasurer (his letter dated November the 20th, 1597.) for his grave advice, furtherance, and good liking: that since the said land was bought with part of the money that should have kept the churches and houses in good reparation, to prefer a bill to the high court of Parliament, for sale of so much of the said lands as should discharge the said dilapidations before mentioned. Especially, since the decay of the church was such as required so present an amendment, as he should, he said, never be able to hold it up, there being no extraordinary means left unto him to make money of for that purpose: and that he never looked to live to let three leases, all being already out, some for an hundred years and above, and some for fifty, by former Bishops, and the least for three lives, or eighteen or nineteen years yet being. And desiring to know his Lordship's grave advice and honourable pleasure in them, he committed him by his hearty prayers unto the tuition of Almighty God. But there were two Bishops between Aylmer and Bancroft; and therefore surely the whole burden lay not upon his posterity.

Bilson translated to Winchester.

Bilson, Bishop of Worcester, was translated this year to the see of Winton, and confirmed Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of the Holy Trinity there, May the 13th, in St. Mary Bow church, London. This new preferment of Bilson gave Mr. Broughton a new occasion of wrath. And in divers of his letters and tracts he spared not for foul language towards him also; envying the preferments of others, himself neglected.

And Worcester being vacant by the translation of Bil-

son, Gervase Babbington, Bishop of Exeter, was translated to that see. The confirmation of whose election for Bishop and Pastor of the said church of Christ and St. Mary the Virgin, Wigorn, was on the 4th of October, 1597.

Anno 1597. And Bishop Babbington to Worcester.

Mr. Hooker's fifth book of Ecclesiastical Polity came forth this year; which he dedicated to his great patron the Archbishop of Canterbury. It consisted of divers heads; and was a most learned and rational vindication of the excellent constitution of our Church and the Liturgy thereof. It was larger than the four former books of the Polity put together, according as his answer to the adversaries fourth assertion required; *viz.* That touching the several public *duties* of Christian religion, there was among us much superstition retained in them: and concerning *persons*, which for performance of those duties were endued with the power of ecclesiastical order: our *laws*, and proceedings according thereunto, were many ways herein also corrupted. Wherein the learned writer considered the general exceptions taken against the laws of our polity, as being Popish, and banished out of certain reformed Churches.

519 Hooker's fifth book of Ecclesiastical Polity come forth.

In his excellent dedication to the Archbishop there be many weighty things expressed by his judicious pen, partly mentioned before, under the year 1594; to which let me add here a few remarkable passages more, relating to this controversy and the movers of it. Upon occasion of these new reformers' earnest labours for an alteration of the laws of the Church of England, he said thus, "That he "could not find any great cause of just complaint, that "good laws had been so much wanting unto us, as we to "them, &c. That touching exchange of laws in *practice*, "with laws in *device*, which they said were better for the "state of the Church, if they might take place, he said the "farther he and others examined them, the greater cause "they found to conclude with a saying of Gregory Nazianzen, Μένωμεν ὅπερ ἐσμέν. *Let us remain what we are.* Or, "*Although we continue the same we are, the hurt is not "great,*" as the writer paraphrased it to his present purpose. "That considering the nature and kind of these controver-

His judgment of the controversy and the movers of it.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1597.

" sies, the dangerous sequels whereunto they were likely " to grow, and how many ways we had thereby been taught " wisdom, he might boldly aver, that as the weightiest con- " flicts the Church had were those that touched the Head, " the person of our Saviour Christ; and the next of im- " portance were the questions between us and the Church " of Rome about the actions of the body of the Church of " God: so those which had lately sprung up for comple- " ments, rites and ceremonies of church actions, were in " truth for the greatest part such *silly things*, [as he styled " them,] that very easiness made them hard to be disputed " of in serious manner. And that if any marvelled how a " thing in itself so weak could import any great danger, " they must consider, not so much, how small the spark is " that flieth up, as how apt things about it are to take fire, " &c. That such divisions as rise from variety in matters " of religion, all men presume themselves interessed alike, " and so are farther spread; but they are all, for the most " part, hotlier persecuted and pursued than other strifes, &c. " And if the passions of the mind be strong, they easily so- " phisticate the understanding, and make it apt to believe " upon every slender warrant, and to imagine infallible " truth where scarce any probable shew appeareth."

And then, as a proof of this, the writer brought in those *poor seduced creatures* (as he called them) Hacket and his other two adherents; whom, he said, he " could neither " speak nor think of without much commiseration and pity. " That they were trained thus by fair ways first: account- " ing their own extraordinary love to this discipline, a token " of God's more than ordinary love towards them. And " from hence they grew to a strong conceit, that God, " which had moved them to love the discipline more than " the common sort of men did, might have a purpose by " their means to bring a wonderful work to pass, beyond " all men's expectation, for the advancement of the " *throne of discipline*, by some tragical execution. Which " they thought not safe for their friends to be made ac- " quainted with: but only covertly demanded of them,

" what they thought of extraordinary motions of the Spirit CHAP. XXIII.
" in those days; and withal requested to be commended
" unto God by their prayers, whatsoever should be under- Anno 1597.
" taken of men for God, in mere zeal to his glory, and the
" good of his distressed Church. With this unusual and
" strange course they went forward; till God gave them
" over to their own inventions, and left them, made in the 520
" end an example for headstrong and inconsiderate zeal."

This sad event, then fresh in men's minds, the grave author made use of, to shew the great danger that might accrue from these *Disciplinarians*, even to the whole Church and State, unless some seasonable check were given unto them. " And that the peril of such errors might be great-
" er in men whose minds were of themselves as dry fuel,
" apt beforehand unto tumults, seditions, and broils. And
" by this we might see, in a cause of religion, to how de-
" sperate adventures men would strain themselves for
" relief of their own part, having law and authority against
" them."

CHAP. XXIV.

Disciplinarian heats abate by the Archbishop's labours. The ecclesiastical commission checked by prohibitions. Reasons drawn up against them. The Archbishop writes to the Bishops about abuses in marriages: and to send up the names of all such as took holy Orders; and of such as stood excommunicate. Admonition sent to the Archbishop's Courts about absolving recusants excommunicate. Letters of the Archbishop for charitable contributions. Confirmations and consecrations of Bishops.

AND now we may look back upon our Archbishop's past Anno 1598.
labours, pensive cares, incessant painfulness and watchful- The success of the Archbishop's long cares.
ness, against the insults of the enemies of the Established Church; and observe, how by this time he had gotten in good measure the victory over them. For now we hear not much more of the Platformers. And what was offensive in

BOOK IV.

the Church was regularly, by the Queen and the governors thereof, and chiefly by our Metropolitan, redressed. And how well matters at this present stood with religion, and what success the Archbishop's diligence took, I had rather give in the words of a very worthy learned man in those very times, I mean Mr. George Cranmer, in a notable letter which he wrote this year to the reverend Mr. Richard Hooker, the learned writer.

Anno 1598.

Heat towards the *discipline* abates. Geo. Cranmer's letter.

" Now of late years the heat of men toward the *disci-*
" *pline* is greatly decayed. Their judgments begin to sway
" on the other side. The learned have weighed it, and
" found it light. Wise men conceive some fear, lest it
" prove not the best kind of government, but the very
" bane and destruction of all government." And speaking concerning the Archbishop, as a great means thereof;
" One man alone there was to speak of, (whom let no sus-
" picion of flattery deprive of his deserved commendation,)
" who [in defence of the established form of government
" of the Church] stood in the gap, at a time when the new
" discipline sounded every where in the pulpits, and in
" common phrase of men's speech; and the contrary part
" [meaning the many quiet members of the Church] began
" to fear they had taken a wrong course. And so he gave
" others respite to prepare themselves for the defence;
" which, by the sudden eagerness and violence of their ad-
521 " versaries, had otherwise been prevented. Wherein God
" made good unto him his own impress, *Vincit qui pati-*
" *tur*. For what contumelious indignities he had at their
" hands sustained, the world is witness; and what reward
" of honour, above his adversaries, God hath bestowed
" upon him, themselves, though nothing glad thereof,
" must needs confess." And then, attributing partly to his writings, and partly to his vigilancy in government, this change of men's opinions from the errors of the *discipline*, that at first deceived them by its specious appearance, he added, " how the general nature of error, being disguised
" and clothed with the name of truth, is, mightily and vi-
" olently to possess men at first; but afterward, the weak-

" ness thereof being discovered, it loseth the reputation " which before it had gained, &c. So as now the *discipline*, " which at first triumphed over all, being unmasked, be- Anno 1598. " gan to droop, and hang down her head."

A prudent use of the commission for ecclesiastical causes by the Archbishop and the rest in that commission, had been a great means to recover and keep up uniformity and peace in the Church, and to check and restrain such Ministers as varied in their observance of the laws and rules prescribed; or that in their practice favoured the platform. But about these times a way began to be practised, by *prohibitions*, to stop proceedings, not only in the Bishops' ordinary courts, and in the civil courts of justice, but in this high commission ecclesiastical, however ratified and established by statute. And a censure ready to be inflicted in this court upon a delinquent was suddenly stopped, without any conference with the Commissioners. Which occasioned this year the drawing up of certain points by the Bishops and others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, partly by her Majesty's immediate commission under the Great Seal of England, and partly by the ordinary authority derived from the Crown. Who desired the Lords, and other the reverend Judges of the realm, to consider of them touching the granting of *prohibitions*. I will set down the whole paper, as I find it, that I may not curtail it, though the latter part of it only concerns our present business.

Ecclesiastical commission obstructed by *prohibitions*.

" I. Whether the granting them so usually of late years " upon the only suggestion of the Council on the one side, " and oftentimes when they ought not, (as appeareth by " consultations upon them,) be not a great delay of justice, " and charge to the subject; seeing the ecclesiastical Judge " cannot award him that is once prohibited, his due " charges expended in prosecuting the consultation of the " common law.

Points propounded to the Judges by the Bishops, &c. concerning prohibitions. Cleopatra, F. 1. Cott. Libr.

" II. Whether by law a prohibition may be granted, " where neither by the view of the libel appeareth any " thing in demand of temporal cognizance, neither any " plea for custom of tithing appeareth to be rejected;

BOOK IV. Anno 1598.

" nor yet the right of the patronage, nor a fourth part " of the yearly value of the benefice, doth appear to " come in demand.

" III. Whether a prohibition be meet to be awarded for " the plaintiff on suit.

" IV. Whether to be awarded upon matter pleaded in " bar, or by way of exception in the ecclesiastical courts. " For if there should, there is neither matrimony, institu- " tion, heresy, nor any matter so merely spiritual, but by " the defendant's answer it might so be strait called away " from cognizance ecclesiastical.

" V. Whether convenient to be awarded, though being " none of the four former causes, when all proofs are made " of both sides; and they be ready for sentence in the " courts ecclesiastical.

" VI. Whether by law a prohibition may be granted after " sentence given, seeing Bracton testifieth the law in his " time to be otherwise.

" VII. Whether to be granted by the statute of the 45. " Ed. III. whether tithe-wood is demanded of tops cut off " for firing from all timberal trees growing on the freehold, " to bear tops again. Seeing that is truly *sylva cædua*, " *quæ in hoc cæditur, ut renascatur*. And lops by such " severance are made principal. And very many petitions " in Parliament holden were preferred to have this also " prohibited; as appeareth by the rolls in the Tower.
522 " Which petitions needed not, if the statute had before " freed such tops from tithing.

" VIII. Whether to be granted in a matter of marriage, " if the persons be not named in Leviticus, though that " degree, and degrees further off, be prohibited.

" IX. Whether to be granted upon the suggestion, that " the ecclesiastical court may hear no cause, but matters " testamentary and matrimonial; seeing tithes, heresy, and " many other causes, undoubtedly ecclesiastical, cannot be " referred to any of these.

" X. Whether to be granted upon this suggestion, that " the law civil requireth two witnesses, where the common

" law by juries accepteth sometimes but of one. Seeing " that if this diversity were construed for a contrariety, " then no matter at all should be of ecclesiastical jurisdic- " tion.

" XI. Since all the ecclesiastical jurisdiction is now " united to the Crown, and from thence derived, whether " may not the old prohibitions still retained be accounted " offensive and dangerous; *viz.* whereby a severance is " made of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction from the Crown, " as not being the right thereof, nor belonging to it: and " whereby it is *aliud forum regio foro:* yea, though it be " under the Great Seal of England authorized by Parlia- " ment. If in these, or some of these, not to be impeach- " ed, be indeed liberties and franchises of the Church, to " the observation whereof by statute all the great officers " and judges of the land are to be sworn; whether, by vir- " tue of these statutes and Magna Charta, they ought not " still to be holden as inviolable as ever they were, or " ought to have been.

" *Particularly touching the commission ecclesiastical.*

Queries touching commission ecclesiasti- cal.

"Seeing ecclesiastical authority is now as highly and truly " vested in the prince, as is her temporal, whether her " temporal authority should any more restrain her ecclesi- " astical, than her ecclesiastical should her temporal.

" And for avoiding of confusion, and encroachment of " jurisdictions distinct, why the prince's supreme ecclesi- " astical authority may not be as jealous over the temporal, " as the temporal is over the ecclesiastical: seeing the " common oath of obedience tieth all indifferently to the " assistance and the defence of all preeminences, united to " the Crown.

" And seeing so many and so great personages, with " some others, are trusted to do her Majesty service in her " Highness' ecclesiastical commission, whether it be con- " venient, that an offender ready to be censured, upon his " own false suggestion, before a conference had with any " Commissioners thereupon, who knew the truth best,

BOOK IV.

Anno 1598.

" should obtain, and publicly in court throw in, a prohibition " to the delay of justice, and to the disgrace and dispa- " ragement of those who served freely without all fee " therein."

The Archbishop to the Bishops for the regulation of times and places for marriage.

Seeing it is not the mere making of good laws only, that are of force to rectify things amiss, and to prevent evil practices for the future, but the diligent execution of them, as occasion shall require; so did our Archbishop now press the observation of the ecclesiastical constitutions, made in the last Convocation, and ratified by her Majesty. Therefore, in the month of November, he required his Suffragan Bishops to take care about licences for marriage, of which such great complaints and clamours (and not unjustly) had been made, and provision taken for preventing any harm by reason of them, in one of those constitutions; but still this evil not remedied; and Ministers married at unseasonable times and undue places; and abuse was in banns asking. The Archbishop's letter therefore to them to discharge their duty herein, in their several dioceses, ran to this tenor: " That whereas by the constitution made in " the last Convocation, and by her Majesty under the " Great Seal confirmed, among other things the Ordinary's " power was limited in granting of licences for celebrating " marriage within a competent time fit for so holy an ac- " tion; namely, betwixt the hours of eight and twelve in
523 " the forenoon; and to a prescript place, that is, in the " parish church where the parties to be married, or their " parents or governors, dwelt: and where, by the said con- " stitutions, no Minister is warranted to marry any parties, " unless he have a licence sufficient from such Ordinary as " by the said constitutions was warranted to grant it; or " that the banns were three several festival days published " at the time of the morning prayer; the penalty whereof " was, by that provincial constitution, that the Minister who " did offend should be suspended from his function for three " years.

Regist. Whitg.

" That all this notwithstanding, there came daily com- " plaints to him [the Archbishop] out of several parts of

" this [his] province, that some Ministers, neither regarding " her Majesty's pleasure, nor careful of their [*i. e.* the Bi- " shops'] credits, did marry some couples in private houses: Anno 1598. " others did marry those who came to be married at unsea- " sonable hours: others never stayed asking the banns three " several festival days, as is by law required; but did ask " them twice upon some holyday, and the third time the next " morning, when they were married: (as if ordinances were " to be restrained, and Ministers left at large, to break all " good order:) for redress and prevention of all which dis- " orders, he had thought good, and did hereby require his " Lordship to give both public and particular warning to all " the Ministers of or within his diocese, that they should " observe the hours as well as the places limited in the " foresaid constitution: and not otherwise marry any, ei- " ther licensed or by banns published: and marry only " such inhabitants within their parishes, not licensed other- " wise, who were three several festival days publicly asked; " upon the penalty within the provincial constitutions in- " flicted. Which his Lordship and his officers, whom in " that case it concerned, were to have a vigilant care to see " diligently observed, for the avoiding of all future scandals " and offences, which might justly grow thereon. Wherein " nothing doubting of his Lordship's diligent care, he com- " mitted him to the tuition of Almighty God. Dated " from Lambeth the 19. of Novemb. 1598." Subscribed,

" Your loving brother in Christ."

His letter to the Bishops concerning such as took holy Orders, &c.

And he despatched another circular letter to his brethren the Bishops of his province, in relation to another constitution the same time made, concerning such as should enter into holy Orders: for the better providing able, learned, and honest men, to supply the churches of the realm, the ignorance and disability of the ministry having been so much laid to the charge of the Bishops before: the names and quality of all such as henceforth were ordained being to be sent up to the Archbishop. Which occasioned this following letter, writ in the same month of November.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1598. Regist. Whitg.

" Whereas by the ecclesiastical constitutions in the last " Convocation made and established by her Majesty's au- " thority, among other things it is ordained and decreed, " that every year, at the feast of St. Michael the archangel, " or within six weeks next after the said feast, your Lordship " and the rest of my brethren, the Bishops of the province, " should send certificates unto me of the numbers, names, " degrees, and qualities of all such as have been promoted " unto holy Orders, or have been admitted unto any bene- " fice by you in the year next before past: and where it " is likewise by the same constitution decreed, that you " should every year, between the feast of St. Michael and " the birth of our Saviour Christ, return the names of all " those which be excommunicate, for their obstinate refus- " ing to be present at divine service, established by public " authority within this realm: as also of all other persons " lawfully excommunicate, and have so continued three " months together without amendment, and unabsolved; " and have every six months following been denounced and " published to be excommunicate persons, both in their own " parish church where they dwell, and in your cathedral
524 " church: and another certificate of this read the last day " of October last past, of the tables of fees due unto you and " your Archdeacons and other officers, and ministers of ec- " clesiastical courts within your diocese:

" All which to do you have utterly neglected: which ar- " gueth that you have not that vigilant care in executing " other parts of the said constitutions, as you ought, and as " her Majesty expecteth.

" And for that I myself may, I know not how soon, be " called to account by her Majesty, how the same consti- " tutions be observed and put in use, and in particular, in " those things aforesaid: these are therefore to admonish " and require you, (*in virtute juramenti de Canonica obe- " dientia præstanda*) to send unto me forthwith the fore- " said several certificates in the said constitutions men- " tioned by the way of public instruments, under your epi- " scopal seal, for the more credit of them. And to be more

" careful hereafter in certifying those things, which are " yearly to be certified, than hitherto you have been. " Otherwise I shall be drawn to take such course here, by Anno 1598. " proceeding against you and your officers, not only as vio- " lators and contemners of their canonical obedience in that " behalf due, but also of her Majesty's authority and ex- " press commandment. And so being not a little grieved " with your negligence and carelessness herein, and expect- " ing due amendment and reformation, as well in the pre- " mises as in the execution of all the other parts of the " said constitutions, for the good of the Church and our own " credits, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God. " From Lambeth, the 9th of November 1598.

" Your loving brother in Christ."

The State was now so favourable to the Papists, who stood excommunicate for their absence from their parish churches, or other matters, whereby they became obnoxious to that censure, that upon the easy and reasonable terms of making their personal submissions unto the Queen, they were absolved. But they hoped (and perhaps some of them so escaped) by their proctors to be absolved without any such submission made by themselves. Therefore the Attorney General, Sir Edw. Coke, informed hereof; and considering that after absolution most were freed from all indictments, he sent an admonition to the Archbishop's Dean of the Arches, his Chancellor, his Judge of his Audience, and his Judge of the Prerogative, and to the other ecclesiastical judges, to warn them hereof. " That whereas he was given " to understand, that divers recusants, standing excommu- " nicate for their recusancy, did intend and go about to pro- " cure to themselves to be absolved in your courts, by their " procurators, without making their personal submission; " which was contrary to law, and tended to the great pre- " judice of her Majesty: for that they afterwards meant to " continue recusants, and could not be indicted for the same: " he thought it good therefore to signify the same unto " them: hoping that from henceforth they would have a

The Attorney General to the Archbishop, concerning excommunicate Papists.

The Attorney General's letter. Regist. Whitg.

BOOK IV. Anno 1598.

" special care, that they suffered no recusant, being excom-
" municate, to be absolved without making their personal
" subscription accordingly." And so he commended them to God, the 12th of November 1598. Subscribing, " Your
" assured loving friend, Edw. Coke." This letter was superscribed, To my loving friends, Mr. D. Bynge, Dean of the Arches; Mr. D. Stanhope, Chancellor to my Lord's Grace of Canterbury; Mr. D. Dun, Judge of the Audience; Mr. D. Gybson, of the Prerogative; and to all other judges exercising jurisdiction ecclesiastical within the province of Canterbury, and to every of them.

Sends to the Bishops for a contribution in their dioceses for a great fire.

The Archbishop likewise, in the month of November, recommended to his brethren the Bishops, to stir up the benevolence and charitable contribution of their Clergy towards the relief of many sufferers by a dreadful fire in the town of Tiverton in Devon. The report whereof coming to Court, the intelligence was despatched to the Archbishop, *viz.* " That information was given to the Lords of the
" Council, that the whole town in April last was burnt to
" ashes; that 400 [houses, I suppose] were consumed. The
" value of 150,000*l.* of goods lost: 900 householders decay-
525 " ed: and fifty Christians perished in that fire. Which cala-
" mity the Queen pitying, by her letters patents, dated July
" 2, granted towards some part of their relief 5,000*l.* to
" be taken out of certain shires, for the stock appointed
" by the last statute to be collected there: the which
" would be a small, though a most gracious princely relief
" towards the recovery of so great a loss. The judges by
" their writings had recommended to the justices in their
" circuits, that some charitable benevolence might be
" shewed likewise in this behalf by the gentlemen every
" where. And the like suit (as the Archbishop wrote in his
" letter to the Bishops) being made unto me, to recom-
" mend unto your Lordship, and the wealthier sort of the
" Clergy, the relieving of the bitter affliction of these poor
" men of Tiverton, to be by your charitable devotion help-
" ed, as well by their own liberalities, as by exhorting the
" wealthier sort to some voluntary contribution, &c. I could

" not but, in a tender compassion of their afflictions, ear-
" nestly pray your Lordship, by yourself and your Arch-
" deacons, to move your Clergy, whose abilities are best, Anno 1598.
" both by themselves and their well-disposed neighbours, to
" give some comfort, as is aforesaid."

And to the ecclesiastical courts for the wars in Ireland.

The Irish wars were in these times very chargeable and heavy upon the Queen: and because, as it seems, benevolences and loans were not so acceptable, she made use of contributions from her people. It is certain the Archbishop was directed from the Council to send his letters for some voluntary contributions and collections, for those wars, in the ecclesiastical courts: which letters were sent accordingly, dated Feb. 10.

Robinson, Bishop of Carlisle, consecrated.

This year, July the 22d was the election of Henry Robinson, S. T. P. confirmed for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of the holy and undivided Trinity, of Carlisle. And on Sunday the 23d he was consecrated in the chapel of Richard, Bishop of London, within the episcopal palace at London, by letters commissional from Matthew, Archbishop of York. The same right reverend Father Richard, John Bishop of Rochester, and Anthony Bishop of Chichester, taking upon themselves the office of consecration of the said Robinson.

Goldesborough consecrated Bishop of Gloucester;

The confirmation of the election of Godfrey Goldesborough, S. T. P. for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of the holy and undivided Trinity, of Gloucester, was performed on the 11th of November; and his consecration on Sunday, November the 12th following at Lambeth, by the Archbishop, Richard Bishop of London, William Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and Anthony Bishop of Chichester, assisting.

And Cotton of Sarum.

The confirmation of the election of Henry Cotton, S. T. P. for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of St. Mary the Virgin, Sarum, was performed likewise on Saturday, November the 11th, consecrated the Sunday following at Lambeth, by the Archbishop, and the same Bishops assisting.

Rowland of Bangor.

The confirmation of the election of Henry Rowland,

BOOK IV. S. T. B. for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of Bangor, and his consecration, were on the same days and
Anno 1598. places, and by the same Archbishop and Bishops' hands, as those before.

526 CHAP. XXV.

A Rabbi of Constantinople writes to Broughton, to explain the old prophecies, as fulfilled in our Messiah. Broughton urgeth the Archbishop and the nobility, in several letters, to get him authorized by the Queen to undertake that work. Blames their delays. The sabbatarian doctrine checked by the Archbishop. The Archbishop requires of the Bishops certificates of their court-fees. His hospital at Croyden finished. The chapel dedicated and consecrated. The Archbishop's purchases. Bishop of Ely consecrated. Some account of him. A licence of the Archbishop to teach school. The Archbishop hinders the mustering of singing-men.

Anno 1599. ABRAHAM RUBEN, a great learned Rabbi, living in Constantinople, had heard the fame of an Englishman, greatly skilled in Jewish and Rabbinical learning, and that had attained to more exquisite knowledge of the sacred Bible by that learning. This was indeed none other but our Hugh Broughton, of whom so much before. Whereupon the said Jew writ to him at large in Hebrew. Wherein he entreated him to shew his sense of the prophecies of the Old Testament, and what he could prove substantially from them, for his satisfaction, that Jesus Christ was the Messiah, the offspring of David, as is foretold there; in order to his being further instructed in the Christians' Gospel. The contents of his letter may be seen at large in Broughton's works. This letter was brought to Barton, the Queen's agent in Constantinople; who, upon this, writ to a merchant in London, his correspondent, whose name was Richard Stapers, about it. And this being so material a thing,

Ruben, a Jew, writes an Hebrew epistle to Mr. Broughton.

and wherein the Archbishop, as we shall hear, was concerned, it may be worth insisting a while upon it. CHAP. XXV.

Barton's letter was to this purpose: That there was a Jew there, taking himself to be learned, and hearing of the good fame of N. [that is, H. Broughton,] had invited him to make proof of his learning, by the due answer expected to be sent by him from the said N. And therefore he desired the said merchant, though he heard the said N. was not in London, yet to cause the foresaid letter of Rabbi Ruben to be sent unto him, and to procure his answer. And if it were possible, to cause him to go thither to him, since, as he [Barton] had heard, he was little esteemed at home. And, lastly, added, that he assured his Worship that it would turn to the benefit of Christendom. And so subscribing, "Yours, Barton." Anno 1599. The English agent at Constantinople sends it over to England.

Broughton was then at Basil, when the Jew's letter and the agent's came to his hand: which was about the year 1599. But first Ruben's letter had been brought to the Archbishop, it being of such high import to the Christian religion. The Archbishop thought fit it should go to his hands to whom it was directed. As soon as Broughton had received it, he, partly out of zeal to Christ, to manifest him to the Jews to be their true Messiah; and partly, as it appears, to make known his mighty ability in this kind of learning, shewed himself very forward by some writings of his so to do; answering at length that Jew's letter largely in the Hebrew and in the Greek languages. Copies whereof were printed, and sent to Constantinople. Whereupon such reputation was gained to the English nation, that, as the merchant Stapers had learned by other letters, the Turks were willing to grant to the Englishmen the temple of Sophia, if Mr. Broughton would go thither, and read and preach in Hebrew or Greek. Broughton answers the Rabbi's letters. Reputation accrues hence to the English.

Some English had procured the printing both of the Jew's epistle, as well by itself, as together with a commentary of Mr. Broughton's, which he had dedicated to the Queen. And another dedication was made to the nobles of the land: signifying therein that he was ready to lay down for 527 The epistle of the Jew and a commentary of Broughton printed together.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1599.

the good of the Church all memory of injuries, that he might either go to Bizantium, [the ancient name of Constantinople,] or write in Hebrew and Greek a compendium of all the Bible, from the beginning to the end of the Apocalypse. Whereby he hoped all things should be cleared, even to a blind man: [as to the understanding of the whole Bible, to the conviction of all Jews concerning Jesus Christ.]

Broughton's expectation was, that the Archbishop should have taken this opportunity vigorously to have stirred him up to set about this work, in giving that learned Jew satisfaction, according to his request. But the matter had some delay. Which occasioned Mr. Broughton to frame a letter (which was printed) to the nobility of England; shewing how highly convenient it was, that the Jew's letter should have a satisfactory answer, and how ready he was for his part to do it, blaming the delay. This letter he translated into Hebrew, and sent it to the Archbishop, and likewise into Greek to the rest of the Bishops. The Archbishop hereupon told one concerned, that he would procure money for this good work, if Broughton desired it of him. Which his high spirit took in much displeasure, refusing to ask it, saying, that the Metropolitan himself should do that which was desired. And that for his part he would not pray him: but being prayed [by others,] he would, with God's help, do what he could. The abovesaid letter, wrote in Hebrew to the Archbishop, he did it, as he said, that the Jew himself might read it; and the same in Greek to the Bishops, that the Patriarch of Constantinople might see and testify in whom the fault lay of the *neglected salutary hope*, as he expressed it.

The Archbishop offers to procure money to encourage his pains.

This letter to the peers of the realm was writ at Basil, dated July 29, 1599, and is extant in the same learned man's works. Wherein he recommended unto them the common hope of good; and the matter being of such great import to Christendom, as he had put it into Hebrew and Greek, so he caused it to be translated and printed in all the languages of Europe, *viz.* Latin, French, German, Italian, importing, "that it was high time that some order were

The import of his letter

Anno 1599.

to the Peers concerning the Jew's letter.

" taken for the matter which the Queen's ambassa-
" dor of Bizantium judged likely to turn to the good of
" Christendom, by right usage. An entrance into which
" business stood in answering Abraham Ruben the He-
" brew, his epistle. Which to pass over in silence, any
" indifferent would judge it great profaneness. He added,
" that the Jew spake glorious things of God's goodness
" upon us. Unto which if we gave no acclamations, we
" might justly be accounted godless. That the Queen
" also was highly extolled by him for extraordinary breed-
" ing of rare knowledge. And that whereas it was profit-
" able for the realm, that she should be counted in truth,
" not less than in title, defender of the faith, (which defence
" stood chiefly in breeding rare skill, for the truth and clear-
" ness of the holy Scriptures,) so it was needful to confirm
" that Jew's praising and commendation, in that her Di-
" vines should shew in *work* all which his *words* told.
" Whereby the ambassador might not be counted a Thraso
" for his nation, but honourable in sage speech.

" Moreover, that the Jew made a petition honourable
" for the Queen to perform, (and such as she might not
" deny without open contempt of Christianity,) that one
" might be sent to Constantinople, able to direct the Jews
" willing to learn Christianity. That it was reported
" in Germany, that this [Jewish] Doctor had turned full
" many to our faith, who, if they were not well directed,
" would turn to many by-ways. And that the nation
" [meaning the English nation, by this means] would find
" eternal blessing of God, and honour among men.

" That there was another petition he [the said Jew] had,
" that was as profitable for our nation as needful for Jews,
" and pleasant for a man of learning to undertake; namely,
" a full treatise for the Scripture, and against the law of
" *tradition*, or *talmud*. Here, said Broughton, great mat-
" ter of infinite use might be handled; for both Testaments,
" their tongues, and copies. How they shewed God's wis- 528
" dom and quick eye, in their story pithily compassed;

BOOK IV.

Anno 1599.

" with Christianity breathing through all. So for Jews' " traditions, that the Jerusalamy Talmud might be printed " with approbation; for their examining of such texts; but " in such points as Rabbins wrested to defeat St. Stephen, " Acts vii. who truly saith, that after idolatrous Terah's " death, Abraham was called from Charan: and to disgrace " St. Paul, giving Saul and Samuel forty years, they most " impudently gave Samuel but eleven years, and Saul but " two; against their own grant upon Midras Tillin, Psalm " xxiv. so to defeat the jubilees, that they fall not upon " our Lord's death, &c. And so he propounded some other " instances out of those Jewish books, wherein they would " be confuted; and generally for all their traditions."

This same Jew, as Broughton added, shewing his desire of an answer, had wrote a second letter: which the post at Strasburgh had lost: for so far the journeys of it were examined. In fine, he said, " their Honours" (addressing to the Peers) " must shew what they meant to do in this " case. That religion with policy forbade them to neglect " it. And that if their Honours thought otherwise, that he " might take liberty to discharge himself, and make a way " for other states to think upon this same cause. And that " he trusted their Lordships would not be offended that he " printed this letter in sundry languages. And so he re- " commended their Honours to God, as they regarded his " honour, and Christianity, commended unto them."

Another letter of Broughton's about the Jew's letter, to the Privy Council.

Broughton had wrote another letter to the Lords of the Privy Council, concerning this Rabbi's letter, before that to the Peers; which I will also give some account of. He acquainted them, " how an epistle of an Hebrew, most plen- " tifully learned in all Rabbins skill, came to his hand but " a few days ago, after it had been in England, and seen " by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury, and some " other of their Lordships. That the matter being of so " weighty importance, it touched her Majesty to take care " how to deal in princely learned wisdom for this cause; " that all Christendom might have as much done for the

" common good, as the care and skill of men could afford. " That their Lordships might see in the said letter two " points of request. The one touching the countenance and " charges of the Queen to send a scholar requested, [*viz.* " himself,] to rule all the schools of divinity in Constanti- " nople. That this argued some conference with the Em- " peror [of the Turks] for leave. And that he that should " do this abroad to the Queen's honour should be first of " high authority at home." [Meaning, it seems, one in honourable esteem, both for his learning and also quality and advancements.]

" The other point of request stood for performance, upon " a scholar's learning, in all Hebrew skill; for the tongues " and Masorites; for comparing, with clear declaration, the " Prophets and Apostles; and for answer to all the grounds " and branches of the Jews' Cabbala and traditions: how " it failed; and what in their studies could be allowed."

The contents of the Jew's letter.

He added, " that the said Jew ended his letter with cer- " tain verses of a sonnet, of an hearty affection; shewing " an infinite desire to have the truth of salvation opened " from England: whence, as he was persuaded, that must " best be afforded. That he greatly extolled the knowledge " of divinity in England, a congregation of understanding, " and of all variety of wisdom: where children were above " all hope multiplied; that with astonishment it might be " said, from Esay, *Who hath begotten these to me?* That " herein he brake out into rejoicing, that from the ends of " the earth songs were heard, *The just hath honour*. That " then the Jew entered in political sort to shew the grounds " of his petition, and upon what hope of promise he had " opened his desires in this zealous manner; shewing that " Mr. Edwards (as he wrote him) Barton had given him all " his hope: from whose mouth he was stirred up. Whom " he termed *Atzir*, that is, *Messenger*, the Mediator of Peace, " the Lord of Tiphsar. By which term Nahum nameth the " high officer of Nineveh; the same consonants that make " Satrap, the Lieutenant of Persia's title. That of him he " said, that he assured himself how, for bright clearness of

BOOK IV.

Anno 1599. 529

" the Scriptures, he should be fully satisfied for any ques-
" tions touching Scripture; of the Trinity, or the other
" noble treasures of wisdom, &c. Thence the said Jew slid
" into the Queen's Majesty's commendations: for which
" her Highness, as a defender of the faith, in the expect-
" ation would afford him comfort and help, for the good of
" strengthening in Christianity both him and all of his de-
" sire. Of her Highness he spake eloquently in Hebrew
" terms, picked as jewels from the bravery of ancient states.

His praises of Queen Elizabeth.

" Is she not the mighty among the nations? A Princess
" among the countries? The only Queen of this world?
" Elizabeth, the perfect among the perfect. The terrible
" as the camps. It is known in the gates of the nations,
" when they see her, that she is the princess, the crown,
" the honour, the diadem, the overruler of the kingdom of
" Esau:" (Esau, or Edom, as Broughton explained it here, the Rabbins generally in their commentaries put for Rome.)
" That she had in her kingdom the skilful for all know-
" ledge; for the silver and gold of it, as in the golden can-
" dlestick; and for the use of it, the knops, the bowls, and
" the flowers. And he prayed heartily, that the Eternal
" King would strengthen her kingdom with mighty in-
" fluence, as it was upon Sir Francis Drake, a roaring lion
" against the savage bear, [*i. e.* the King of Spain,] that
" shook the earth, and made the nations to quake.

Broughton turns his speech to the Archbishop concerning this Jew.

" And other matters there are in the Jew's letter," said Broughton, turning his speech to the Archbishop, " that
" toucheth the Queen's honour, and your Grace, to regard.
" And that your Grace, in a matter of this great weight,
" will not neglect to send a messenger to Basil, [to him,]
" to have a copy of his epistle. And that as for the letter,
" he hoped it was his right, and that he might keep it for
" a jewel. And that his Grace should, with all his humble
" duty, have a copy of this epistle, for the Queen's honour,
" and the speeches touching her. And he advised, that an
" answer unto the learned Rabbi should be sent him, to be
" in his own tongue, and as eloquent as his own style; and
" that from London, to which place he endorsed his. And

" the English Ambassador telling Mr. Stapers, that this " might turn to the good of all Christendom, he hoped it " had kindled in his zealous wisdom a true care in this " cause. And that the nations about might not think an " occasion was offered unto him, and neglected: and so to " have been the extreme hinderance and blemish of Chris- " tian hope. And therefore that modesty forbade him to " challenge any superiority of zeal, once to turn his pen to " exhortation to his Grace, and to stir him up. And that " the Jew reverencing him, [*i. e.* Broughton,] looked for an " answer, [namely, such] as the whole state would allow. " But, he added, that it was neither modesty nor policy to " war in this combat, without the Queen's countenance, " preferment, and allowance.

Expects countenance from the Queen to answer the Jew.

" And whereas the Jew invited into trial of learning, if " the Queen would, all Christendom should judge, whether " would be found the readier in the prophets' language, " and controlment of Rabbins. That doubtless he must be " answered. And when others refuse, he said, I am ready, " after due recompense, to write and to go: leaving, as " Aristides, particular injuries for the general good." But notwithstanding both these urging letters before mentioned, nothing was yet done in answer to the Jew.

No answer in two years after to the Jew's letter.

Broughton offended at it.

But in the mean time a report went abroad, that this epistle was forged: and so it was reported even at Paul's Cross, and was in a book printed by Wolf. But the Turkey merchants knew that the Jew did acknowledge the epistle to be his; and that the Greeks told them, that the Rabbi highly commended so much answer as had been already received of Broughton's writing. And one of Middleburgh in Holland, (in which town Broughton had resided for a time,) went from him, (and that much for his sake,) to the said Rabbi: to whom he acknowledged his writing that epistle; and told him then of a second epistle that came to England, being the same, only a new copy; lest the first had perished. However it remained unanswered for two years. So that in the year 1601 Broughton, from Basil, urged the Archbishop again for his neglect of this weighty

BOOK IV.

business: no resolution yet taken, either of answering the Jew, or of Broughton's going to Constantinople.

Anno 1599.

530 Expresseth his displeasure at it to the Archbishop.

Whereupon he, after his rough way, begins another letter to the Archbishop thus: "Your soul knoweth full well, "how often you have beheld my letters for the affairs of a "man of esteem, Rabbi Abraham Ruben: whom we must "regard, as he loveth our nation, and affecteth honourable "speeches of our Queen, &c. Notwithstanding, until this "very day, I heard no regard from you, but that which "others speak upon hearsay, (whereupon no hold is to be "taken,) that you would give me allowance sufficient to "answer the Jew. And now, because he had been (as he "went on) a long pilgrim without answer now this two "years day, and could have made a great volume before "this, and left his own business, to be employed for the "use of the Church; he thought good to demand of him, "before the eyes of this sun, [published in print, it seems,] "what he [the Archbishop] purposed for answer to the "people of Thogarma. That he would stay yet a little time "while; watching what he would speak in the end, &c. "That all the while he held his peace, none would meddle "with this business, &c. That the Jew was not a speaker "of light matters; and his speech was not of empty and "vain sounds, &c. Broughton therefore charged the Arch-"bishop with great blame, for his delay hitherto. And that "he, [for his part,] since he received the little book of the "humane Rabbi, was ready to take the matter in hand. "And in hand, said he, it must be taken. But it was not "for him to speak, as with the realm's consent, much or "little, without authority, and that public; nor to prevent "him [the Archbishop] in his own office. That he was not "fit to answer for the Majesty of the Queen, because he "was of no place among them, notwithstanding the many "and great preferments the Queen had to give, and had "sent him word from the Lords, by Sir Julius Cæsar, that "he should choose honourable preferments. Notwith-"standing, if it were the Queen's pleasure to appoint him "to this charge, he said, he would go about heartily to set

" forth the honour of her Highness, as the golden head of " her kingdom; and would not suffer the sons of the east " to be amazed, that here was no patron in this cause " among all the sturdy hearts of Britain," &c.

And then applying to the Archbishop again, " Now," said he, " the eyes of all look upon you; high and low mark " you, what you will answer, for the glory of our God, and " kingdom, and wisdom of our nation. All kings in the " world will mark how you will carry this matter; whether " to glory and honour for ever, or to eternal shame and re- " proach." See further and more particularly some notable passages of this Jew's epistle, besides what hath already been mentioned, in Broughton's works, to the Christian reader, about the Turkey trade. But as the Archbishop was willing to reward his pains, in writing for the satisfaction of the Rabbi, so he thought not convenient to assist our Broughton's vainglory, to be set on work by a Queen and an Archbishop of Canterbury.

Broughton's works, p. 717.

The Disciplinarians shewed themselves not much about these times. But in one point of doctrine they grew very successful; namely, in a Jewish sabbath-keeping: which they preached up, and writ books for. The chief of the inventors of this *sabbatarian* doctrine was one Bound; who wrote a book in the year 1595, that the commandment for keeping the sabbath was moral and perpetual; and that Christians were bound to rest upon the sabbath, and to keep it, as the Jews did. It was preached in Oxfordshire, that to do any work on the sabbath was as great a sin as to kill or commit adultery. It was preached in Somersetshire, that to throw a bowl on the sabbath-day was as great a sin as to commit murder. It was preached in Norfolk, that to make a feast or wedding-dinner on that day, was as great a sin as for a father to take a knife and cut his child's throat. It was preached in Suffolk, (and my author saith that he could name the man,) that to ring more bells than one on the Lord's-day, to call the people to church, was as great a sin as to do an act of murder. This severe doctrine however took deep impressions upon men's hearts:

The sabbatarian doctrine checked by the Archbishop.

Fuller's Church History, book ix.

BOOK IV.

insomuch that the Bishops were forced in their courts to take cognizance of it, and cited several Ministers for preaching it. And in this year (as well as before) did Archbishop Whitgift, by his letters and officers at synods, call in books on that subject, and forbade any more to be printed. And Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, at Bury St. Edmonds in Suffolk, anno 1600, did the like. And both these reverend, sage, and honourable persons, by their censures, declared, that the sabbath doctrine of the brethren agreed neither with the doctrine of our Church nor with the laws and orders of this kingdom, disturbed the peace of the commonwealth and church, and tended unto schism in the one, and sedition in the other.

Anno 1599. 531

Fuller's Church History, book ix.

The Archbishop to the Bishops, to certify the fees of their courts.

The exorbitant fees of Bishops' officers, exacted in their courts, were rectified by a canon in the last synod; whereby, among other things, it was required, that every Bishop should send in to the Archbishop an account of their fees. But this was not done by them in that manner that was prescribed. Which occasioned the Archbishop to send his circular letters to them, or some of them, for particular certificates to be sent unto him, according to the ecclesiastical constitution made and published by her Majesty's authority: which yet he had not received from them, in such sort as by the constitution was appointed. He prayed them to peruse the said constitution, and every particular which by them was to be certified. And with speed to proceed against all such officers as had not done their duties in certifying them. And to send their certificates at or before Bartholomew tide next.

Regist. Whitg.

Letter to the Bishop of Peterborough concerning his certificate.

And by the Archbishop's direction, his Chancellor, or some other his officer, wrote a letter to the Bishop of Peterborough, in his name, importing, "that his Grace willed "him to signify unto him, [the said Bishop,] that the cer- "tificate which he had sent unto him was of fees only be- "longing to his consistory, and the officers thereof, and "sealed with the Chancellor's seal; whereas he should "have kept those in *archivis propriis*, and have sent unto "his Grace *fidele et autenticum instrumentum in perga-*

" *meno conscriptum*, of all fees ecclesiastical due unto him-
" self, his Chancellor and Archdeacon, and all other exer-
" cising ecclesiastical jurisdiction within his diocese, and
" of his and their officers' and ministers' fees. And in case
" any, exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction within his dio-
" cese, had not fulfilled the canon in this behalf made, his
" Grace looked they should be by his Lordship proceeded
" against, according to the constitution, for his or their
" negligence therein. That his Grace willed him further to
" signify to his Lordship, that he presently looked for his
" certificate, under his own hand and episcopal seal, of all
" fees ecclesiastical due within his diocese, as well unto
" himself, his Chancellor and Archdeacons, as his and their
" officers and ministers, according to the true meaning of
" the canon in that behalf made. Otherwise his Grace
" should be forced to take such course therein as he was
" unwilling to do. Adding, that upon the receipt of his
" Lordship's certificate, he should receive back again the
" certificate he sent, to remain with him in his records:
" the true copy whereof Dr. Hickman said he had. And
" so not doubting that his Lordship would have special
" care to satisfy his Grace in the premises, he left him to
" the Almighty. The 24th of May, 1599.

" Your Lordship's loving friend."

The Archbishop's hospital at Croyden finished.

This year the Archbishop's most noble foundation of his hospital, free-school, and chapel at Croyden, was finished. On Monday the 9th of July was the " dedication and as-
" signation of the said chapel or oratory of the hospital,
" called the hospital of the Holy Trinity, in Croyden, of
" the foundation of John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canter-
" bury, to the use of the poor of the same hospital, newly
" erected and founded, (as it ran in the instrument.) When
" the said most reverend Father, the founder, at his palace
" at Croyden, in the presence of Tho. Redman, Notary Pub-
" lic, committed his place to the reverend Father, Richard
" Bishop of London, and Anthony Bishop of Chichester, to
" dedicate and assign it to divine worship, and to the cele-

Negotium dedicationis. Regist. Whitg.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1599.

"bration of divine things, and to the preaching of the "word; as much as he might *de jure*, and by the laws and "statutes of this realm: and name the same chapel by the "name of *The chapel or oratory of the hospital of the "Holy Trinity, in Croyden, of the foundation of John* 532 "*Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury.* And to proceed "to decree and do in the said business, according to the "statutes, laws, and canons, ordinances, rites, and customs "of the Church of England, on that behalf established, and "now used and observed. And then the most reverend Fa- "ther decreed, that at the time of the dedication of the "said chapel or oratory, the godly prayers should be cele- "brated, and a holy sermon should be publicly preached. "And he appointed for that turn Tho. Monford, S. T. P. to "be Preacher: and appointed the day wherein the busi- "ness aforesaid should be done, which was the 10th of the "present month, 1599. Present, Will. Barlow, S.T.P. John "Parker, Esq.

The chapel dedicated by the Bishop of London.

"On which 10th of July, between the hours of eight and "twelve, the Bishop of London, personally present in the "chapel, in honour and reverence of the Most Reverend, "took on him the burden of the execution of the said com- "mission or deputation. And, by virtue of the said com- "mission, dedicated the said chapel or oratory to the di- "vine worship, by the celebration of the divine offices, and "preaching and setting forth God's word, as much as by "right he could, and as by the statutes and laws of this "kingdom he might. Dedicating it by the name of *The "chapel or oratory of the Holy Trinity*, &c. And openly "and publicly denounced it so dedicated and assigned; and "that it ought so to remain for future times. Which being "so done, then and there prayers were made unto God, "according to the form prescribed in the book of public "prayers established by authority of Parliament; and im- "mediately a sermon was preached by Tho. Monford, S.T.P. "Present there the Bishop of Chichester, and a great many "more, as Mich. Murgatrod, George Whitgift, George "Paul," [his officers,] &c.

Samuel Finch, Vicar of Croyden, was appointed the chief overseer of the work: who gave order to Wormel, that on the fore-gate of the hospital should be placed the arms of the see of Canterbury, *viz.* in pale, with the Archbishop's arms; the year of our Lord under them, *viz.* 1597, [in which year that part of the hospital, it seems, was finished.] And over the arms to be a free-stone square, with these words in great letters, SANCTÆ TRINITATI SACR. On the bare places over the gates called *the Ashler*, this sentence following to be written in great capitals, *viz.* Prov. xxviii. *Qui dat pauperi non indigebit.* The Archbishop had, with his own hand, written down several sentences, as proper to be inscribed upon the front of this his hospital, out of which choice was to be made; which were these:

Anno 1599. The inscriptions upon the fore-gate.

Psal. xliv. *Beatus qui intelligit super egenum et pauperem.*
Prov. xiv. *Qui miseretur pauperis beatus erit.*
Honorat Dominum, qui miseretur pauperis.
Prov. xix. *Fœneratur Domino, qui miseretur pauperis.*
Prov. xxviii. *Qui dat pauperi non indigebit.*
Qui despicit deprecantem, sustinebit penuriam.
Luc. xi. *Date eleemosynam, et ecce! omnia munda sint vobis.*

Lamb. Librar. MSS. fol. 275.

It was appointed, and (as in the instrument of the foundation of this hospital) the use of it was limited, for the abiding-place of such as were maimed, poor, needy, or impotent, for their sustentation and relief; and to consist of a Warden, to be the head of it; and the number not to exceed forty: to be chosen and nominated, from time to time, by the Archbishop, his executors, and assigns. The Warden and poor members thereof to be a body corporate and politic of itself for ever, by the name of *The Warden and Poor of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity*, &c. And by the same name to be able and apt in the law to purchase, receive, have, and possess, as well goods and chattels, as manors, lands, &c. not exceeding the value of 200*l.* by the year, to them and their successors for ever. Their common seal to be the history of Dives and Lazarus, and an escutcheon of arms of the said Archbishop's. And he gave and

The foundation of it.

BOOK IV.

granted the Warden and poor one annuity, or yearly rent, of 10*l.* by the year, to them and their successors for ever; to be received out of his rents and tenements, called or known by the names of Christenfield and Rycroft, lying in the parish of Croyden, containing by estimation threescore and seventeen acres. As for the statutes thereof made by the Archbishop, and the number of those that were to be maintained in the said hospital, that is, thirty at the least; and so many more, under forty, as the revenues thereof might bear, according to the proportion of the ordinances: of which number of brethren, one to teach a grammar-school in Croyden, there by the Archbishop also builded, and to perform such other duties as was appointed him: the whole foundation, with the said statutes and ordinances of the same, are preserved in one of the folio MSS. belonging to the Lambeth Library, namely, that bearing the letter N°. 275. endorsed, *The particular account of the building of Trinity Hospital in Croyden, and the statutes and ordinances belonging to the hospital: together with the grant of Queen Elizabeth; and other notes touching the same.*

Anno 1599. 533

Chose to build it in his lifetime; and why.

This memorable and charitable structure of brick and stone, one of the most notable monuments founded in these times, for a harbour and subsistence for the poor, together with a fair school-house for the increase of literature, and a large dwelling for the schoolmaster, the Archbishop had the happiness, through God's favourable assistance, to build and perfect in his own lifetime. And the reason why he chose to do it himself, while he was alive, was, as Mr. Stow the historian had heard from his own mouth, *because he would not be to his executors a cause of their damnation;* remembering the good advice that an ancient Father [St. Gregory] had left written to all posterity, *Tutior est via, ut bonum, quod quisquis post mortem sperat agi per alios, agat, dum vivat ipse, per se: i. e.* The good that any one hopeth will be done by others, after he is dead, that he do it himself while he is alive is much the safer way.

Annal. 4to. p. 1404.

The Archbishop slandered for his

About this time, and, as it is probable, upon the Archbishop's said Christian foundation and liberal endowment

Anno 1599.

of his hospital, some enemies and enviers of him gave out at Court, how wealthy the Archbishop was grown, and how vastly great his yearly revenues were, with no good intent, no doubt; as perhaps to move the Queen to cut off some of the incomes of the archbishopric as needless, by exchanges with him; for the benefit of some of the great ones about her. Of this, when the good Archbishop had some information, (and as I conjecture from the Earl of Shrewsbury, his honourable friend,) he thought it convenient to draw up a just and particular account of all his purchases since he had been Bishop, with the sums given for the same, yearly values of the lands, and to what and whose uses; with the true yearly value of the archbishopric, very falsely overvalued, half in half. And then, in conclusion, setting down some scriptural sentences, suitable to slanders and such as were slandered. This paper (which I found among certain letters and manuscripts sometime belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury) was as followeth:

wealth. Gives account of his purchases.

Offic. Herald. vol. H.

Lands purchased by me, John Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, since my first being Bishop, to this present November, 1599, which is 23 years at the least. 534

One farm, called Chamberlayns, in Clavering, in the county of Essex, for my brother William Whitgift; which cost me 470*l.*

Toward the purchasing of a piece of land in Kent, for my brother George Whitgift, I gave to him 400*l.*

One house in Shorne, in Kent, with two acres of ground, which cost me 100*l.* and the reversion of a lease.

Two tenements in Shorne, and some three acres belonging, which cost me 121*l.* 2*s.* Rent 8*l.* 10*s.*

One cottage and fifty acres of marsh land in Kent, for my nephew John Whitgift; which cost 432*l.* Rent 24*l.*

These following are for my hospital:

The Checker in Croyden, cost 200*l.*

A tenement joining to it, cost 30*l.*

Another tenement in Croyden, called Stay Cross, with one acre and an half, cost 80*l.*

BOOK IV.

Upon these I have builded my hospital, school-house, and schoolmaster's house: and therefore are not rented.

Anno 1599.

One piece of ground called Clotmead, in Croyden, cost 14*l.* Rent 20*s.*

The Swan, in Croyden, *cum pertinentiis*, 80*l.* Rent of this, with certain parcels belonging to the Checker, is 13*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*

One piece of wood-land, and some pasture, containing in the whole 77 acres, in Croyden, cost 375*l.* Rent 20*l.*

One other piece of wood-land and pasture, in Croyden, cost 410*l.* Rent 23*l.*

Three other several farms in Croyden, cost 1400*l.* Rent 48*l.*

Value of the archbishopric.

The archbishopric is no better to me than it was to my late predecessors; who died not very wealthy, for any thing I can learn: and I hope I bestow it as well as they did. But whosoever saith that this archbishopric is yearly worth 6000*l.* or worth any way, in ordinaries or extraordinaries, 3000*l.* must answer to God at the least for vain speeches, that I term them no worse. And yet out of that which any way I receive, there goeth in annuities, pensions, subsidies, and other duties to her Majesty, 800*l.* at the least. And then what remaineth is soon known.

Any other ways I receive not one penny. The land which I had before mine advancement, and which I have purchased since, my brethren have: those excepted which I have bestowed upon mine hospital.

Disperdat Dominus labia dolosa, et linguam magniloquam. Psal. xi.

Custodi me, Domine, a laqueo quem statuerant mihi, et a scandalis operantium iniquitatem. Psal. cxl.

Domine, libera animam meam a labiis iniquis et a lingua dolosa. Psal. cxix.

The Archbishop's true revenue declared by his Steward in Parliament. D'Ewes' Journ.

What the revenue of the archbishopric was, was publicly declared in the next Parliament, 43 Eliz. by Mr. Bois, a Member of that House, the Archbishop's Steward, and so well knew it. And I am apt to think it done by the private instructions of the Archbishop himself, to stop the misre-

ports of the overgrown incomes of the Archbishop and Bishops: and withal to shew how necessary their profits, arising to them from their sees, should be preserved to them entire, without any further defalcations; which many back-friends to that order endeavoured to bring to pass. For upon occasion of a bill brought into that Parliament about leases to be made by the Archbishops and Bishops, Mr. Bois shewed how prejudicial it would be, if, in letting leases, fines were taken away, (as was moved,) in maintenance of their estates; which came by continual fines: but if taken away, they would not be able to maintain hospitality, or keep that retinue that belonged to their places. And he bade them consider the revenue of the greatest bishopric in England, [meaning that of Canterbury,] which was but 2200*l.* whereof were paid for annual subsidies 500*l.* And then, what damage they should do both to him and his successors herein, (his province being so beneficial to the Queen,) he referred to all their judgments. And to his successor it would be more hurtful, when, paying first-fruits, it should not be allowed him to make his benefits by fines. So that he should be cast one whole annual value behindhand: and perhaps had no power to make leases in twelve or sixteen years after.

Anno 1599. 535

Heton consecrated Bishop of Ely.

This year was Martin Heton, S. T. P. Dean of the cathedral church of Winton, preferred to the see of Ely; that had lain vacant ever since the death of Cox, the last very pious and well-deserving Bishop thereof; who died in the year 1589. The said Heton was confirmed Bishop and Pastor of the same church, February 1, 42 Eliz. And his consecration was on Sunday following, being February 3, performed by the Archbishop; Richard Bishop of London, William Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, and Anthony Bishop of Chichester, assisting.

Some account of him.

We have to say further of this Dr. Heton, that I may preserve somewhat of his memory, (as I am wont to do, as much as I can, of the eminent and learned Bishops and other great Divines in these days,) I shall give, according to the notices of him communicated to me by one of his

BOOK IV.

own posterity, the reverend the Minister of Burtingford in Hertfordshire. He was the son of George Heton, Esq. of Anno 1599. Heton Hall, in the township or hamlet of Heton, in the parish of Dean, in the county of Lancaster; the ancient seat of that family for some hundred years; and where it still remains. His mother (who, from his birth, dedicated him to God and the reformed Church) was Joanna, the daughter of Sir Martin Bowes, who was Lord Mayor of London in the year 1545. He was bred up at Westminster school: thence removed to Christ's Church, Oxon, in the year 1571; and was made Student there: became one of the Canons of that Church 1584; and Vice-Chancellor of that University 1588: was made Dean of Winchester 1589; being thirty-six years of age. He sat Bishop of Ely nine years and six months; being very famous for his *good* preaching and *great* hospitality: dying at Mildenhall in Suffolk, July the 14th, 1609, aged 57. And was buried in Ely minster; where his two daughters (one of them married to Sir Robert Filmer, of Sutton in Kent, Baronet, the other to Sir Edward Fish, of Bedfordshire, Baronet) erected a monument to his memory; which is said to be one of the finest in that cathedral: though it hath in some measure shared in the rudeness of the Great Rebellion; his hands and nose being then broken by profane and sacrilegious hands; the rest of the figure of him remaining entire. The N.XXXIX. inscription on his monument may be read in the Appendix.

Of the same family was Tho. Heton, merchant, of London; who, during the persecution of the professors of the Gospel in Queen Mary's reign, very liberally supported his countryman Mr. Pilkington, Master of St. John's college in Cambridge, an exile for religion in Germany, afterwards Bishop of Durham; and many other pious exiles in those days; notwithstanding terribly threatened for it by Bishop Gardiner.

Licences given by the Archbishop to teach school.

The Archbishop's letter of licence for one to teach school may not be amiss to be here taken notice of, as a specimen after what manner licences for that purpose ran in those times; and to observe what was required of such as un-

dertook the charge of educating youth, for security against any popishly inclined, to be employed in that occupation, lest any such might, by their influence, draw away the Queen's subjects, in their younger years, to prejudice their loyalty and subjection to the Queen or to the Established Church. Which teaching of school was one way, among others, secretly practised before by the popish adversaries; and had occasioned a statute. In which licences therefore the schoolmaster was first sworn to the supremacy, and then to subscribe to the Articles of Religion; and enjoined to resort to the parish church with his children on Sundays and holydays; and to instruct his scholars in Mr. Nowel's Catechism. See a licence given this year by the Archbishop to this purpose. Anno 1599. 536 N°. XL.

I have one thing more to record concerning our good Archbishop, happening this year: and that is, his care of the privileges of his cathedral church of Canterbury, and of all such as belonged to it. For the Lords of the Privy Council having sent to the Mayor of Canterbury, as well as they had done to other magistrates of towns, to get the militia in a readiness upon some present apprehensions, he accordingly making a muster of the militia of that city, required also those of the choir to appear with their arms among the other common lay people: who had indeed once before voluntarily, in a feared invasion, put themselves in arms. When the Archbishop understood this act of the Mayor, he soon despatched a letter to his Steward, Mr. John Bois; expostulating both with him, being the Steward of the Church, for permitting it, and with the Mayor, for presuming to attempt such a thing: written all with his own hand; though he commonly at these years made use of his Secretaries: shewing thereby his concern for this innovation. Importing, "that he could not but marvel, "that Mr. Mayor, or any other, should do that in Canter- "bury, which, he thought, was not done in any part of the "land besides: that is, to muster such as were occupied "in the daily service of God; such as the singing-men of "the church of Canterbury were. That he had some little

The Archbishop concerned at the summoning of the choir to muster with the militia at Canterbury.

His letter thereupon. MSS. Whitg. penes R. T. Brett, LL. D.

BOOK IV. Anno 1599.

" understanding thereof, before that such a thing was in-
" tended, by Mr. Rogers: and that indeed he moved the
" Lord Cobham therein; who had assured him, that there
" should be no such thing attempted. And that thereupon
" he relied, without proceeding any further. But that if,
" notwithstanding, further attempt should be made to that
" only church, he meant to use all the credit he had to
" withstand it. Adding, that if the ministers of that church,
" some of them, when there was doubt of invasion, did offer
" themselves to that service, as all other men must do,
" should that be drawn to example, that when no such
" cause was, they must be molested?" And then applying himself with some blame to Mr. Bois, " I marvel," said he, " that you, being the Steward of the church, should suffer " such a thing to be offered. I think the Lords' letters had " no such meaning: and I suppose your indiscretion in " this point will not be commended." Subjoining, " that " he writ to him as to one with whom he might be bold; " but bade him assure himself, that if he proceeded in this " manner, he would complain to the best. And so he com-
" mitted him to the tuition of Almighty God." Dated from Croyden, the 2d of June, 1599. Yet subscribing himself at last,

" Your assured loving friend,

" Jo. Cantuar."

CHAP. XXVI. 537

The Archbishop's courts disturbed by prohibitions. *Divers* prohibitions *specified. Queries about them offered to the Lords by the Bishops. A letter of Archbishop Bancroft's in behalf of the Civilians, injured by the temporal Judges. Some business between the Archbishop and the University of Cambridge. Remarkable books now set forth; dedicated to the Archbishop: Stow's Annals; Dr. Willet's* Synopsis Papismi. *The Archbishop makes search for Mr. Hooker's three last books. New Offices of Prayer.*

THE Archbishop's courts, and the rest of the Bishops' officers, were of late years much let in the administration of justice, in matters belonging to them, (especially since the 39 Elizab.) by *prohibitions* out of the Common Pleas, and by *consultations*. Which created the Archbishop much trouble: who always defended the rights and privileges of his see, and of the rest of his order. Care was taken that divers cases should be drawn up, wherein these checks were given to the spiritual courts in causes that came before them, by means of these writs of *prohibition*. The nature of which was to serve for one that was impleaded in the court Christian for a cause belonging to the temporal jurisdiction: by which writ, as well the party and his counsel, as the Judge himself and the Register, were forbidden to proceed further. And these *prohibitions* took many causes, not only out of the Archbishop's and Bishops' courts, but even out of the hands of the Queen's ecclesiastical Commissioners, and her court of Delegates: the former authorized by a commission issued out immediately from the Queen herself; and the other by a special commission upon an appeal to her Court of Chancery.

Anno 1600. The Archbishop troubled about his courts, by means of prohibitions.

These cases drawn up (wherein *prohibitions* seemed unjustly granted) were such as these. In the 39th of the Queen, one Charles Bowry, of Woolwich in Kent, being complained of before her Majesty's Commissioners, for a

Divers cases unjustly stopped in the Archbishop's courts by prohibitions.

BOOK IV.

misdemeanor committed by him in the church about the time of divine service, his Minister and Pastor brought a Anno 1600. *prohibition* out of the aforesaid court; it being suggested that he was convented for the trial of the right and title of a certain chapel adjoining to the parish church of Woolwich, whereof he pretended himself to be farmer; and for the right and title of a seat in the said chapel. The same Cleopatra, F. 2. year John Fones, a young youth, utterly unlearned, and made Minister contrary to the usual form in that behalf, was, for the same, together with other misdemeanors ecclesiastical, convented before her Majesty's Commissioners. In this cause the said Fones procured a *prohibition*. It was suggested, that being presented unto the rectory of Kennington, in the county of Gloucester, by Thomas Hughs, Parson thereof, as he pretended himself, one Arnold Liggon claiming it to be his right to present a Clerk for that turn, presented his Clerk unto the same benefice; and that thereupon the said Fones was convented. But the suggestion wanted proof; and so the contrary part obtained a *consultation*.

In the 40th of the Queen, one Margery Hunt of Chillington, in the county of Bedford, convented before the Queen's Commissioners, for reviling and laying violent hands upon a Minister, obtained a writ of *prohibition* from her Highness's court of Common Pleas. And after a *consultation* was awarded from the said court, the temporal judge returning the cause back again, she suggested, that no causes, but such as concerned wills and matrimony, ought in *foro ecclesiastico* to be heard and examined: and that the said
538 Margery was convented before her Majesty's Commissioners upon an action of trespass, and divers assaults made by her upon the said Minister. But the temporal judge, upon a *consultation*, returned the cause. Also in the 40th of the Queen, Elizabeth Veper of Cambridge, and Robert Simpson, being called in question before her Majesty's Commissioners for the crime of adultery committed between them, obtained a *prohibition*: suggesting, that the same Simpson and Veper were convented to answer articles, containing

divers misbehaviours, trespasses, assaults, and subordination of witnesses. The same year Nicolas Crondal, being convented for irregularity, contempt of his Ordinary, and other misdemeanors, obtained a *prohibition*. And afterwards a *consultation* was awarded; suggesting, that whereas he being Parson of Winterborn, a Peculiar in the county of Gloucester, was complained of for exercising jurisdiction there; *viz.* in proving of wills, censuring delinquents, approving the choice of Churchwardens, and such like, and for matters acquitted by her Majesty's late general pardon.

In the 41st of the Queen, Edward Thickens, of the parish of St. Giles, without Cripplegate, London, being convicted of adultery and divers contempts by him committed, was, for his offences, enjoined penance, and fined to her Majesty: and thereupon committed prisoner to the Clink, until he should enter band to perform his penance, and pay her Majesty's fine. Yet shortly after, he was discharged out of prison by a writ of privilege, sent by Mr. Justice Glandvile, before the said Thickens had either paid his fine or performed his penance.

In the 42d of the Queen, Walter Baker, being charged with and convicted of simony, by the testimony of divers witnesses, obtained a *prohibition;* and afterwards a *consultation* was awarded. Baker suggesting, that whereas the right of patronages, the titles of advowsons, and temporal contracts, ought to be examined by the common laws of the realm; and whereas also by a certain act of Parliament, anno 25 Hen. VIII. it is enacted, that the Clergy should not put in use any constitutions, provincial or synodal, or other canons, than such as were then made; Tho. Baker, having before bought the advowson of the rectory of Barby, freely presented Walter Baker his Clerk thereunto. Whereupon her Majesty's Commissioners, by colour of a certain canon, repugnant to the common laws of this realm, and extending to the prejudice of her Majesty's prerogative royal, called into question the validity of the presentation of the said Walter Baker; and, proceeding against him, gave sentence of deprivation for pretended simony.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1600.

The Bishops' queries to the Lords and Judges concerning prohibitions. Cleopatra, F. 2.

These dealings with the Bishops, both in the ordinary jurisdiction of their courts, as also in respect of their acting in the ecclesiastical commission, proceeding immediately from the Queen, were resented, and thought great encroachments upon them; being stopped in doing justice when complaints came before them; it proving also oftentimes a cloak to sin, and a shelter to evildoers and criminals. There were therefore about this time several notable queries prepared by the Bishops, and presented to the Lords of the Council and the Judges to consider of; bearing this title:

539 *Certain points, which the reverend Fathers, the Bishops, executing ecclesiastical jurisdiction, partly by her Majesty's immediate commission under the Great Seal of England, and partly by their own ordinary authority, derived from the Crown, do desire the Lords, and others the reverend Judges of the realm, to consider of, touching the granting of* prohibitions.

These queries were grounded upon a writing drawn up by some learned hand, entitled, *Certain Collections and Inferences concerning matters of* prohibition *and* consultation: *not unfit to be thought upon, for the better preservation of her Majesty's jurisdiction ecclesiastical.*

" I. Since by the laws and statutes of this realm, the li-
" bel is appointed as a rule and direction for the granting
" of *prohibitions* and *consultations*, how can a *prohibition*
" be duly granted, either before the libel is exhibited in the
" ecclesiastical court, or without diligent perusal thereof,
" or upon any other matter or suggestion, than may be
" probably gathered out of the same?

" II. Where the case original is undoubtedly of ecclesi-
" astical cognizance, why should any *prohibition* be grant-
" ed, as almost all be, upon any matter pleaded in bar, or
" by way of exception, though merely temporal, the law it-
" self and common reason being plain and evident to the
" contrary? For such matter incident cometh not there to
" be finally sentenced and determined: but is used as a

" mean and furtherance for the decision of the principal.
" And supposing the law were otherwise, then might either
" party at his pleasure, by pleading some matter temporal,
" make any cause ecclesiastical whatsoever subject to a
" *prohibition*.

" III. Since the *prohibition* once granted, though never so
" unduly, must needs bring along with it the delay of jus-
" tice, intolerable expenses, and many great inconveni-
" ences to the party prohibited; why are *prohibitions* so
" usually granted without calling and hearing both par-
" ties, and the court ecclesiastical also, *si suæ putaverit*
" *interesse;* contrary to the common rule of justice in all
" causes, especially in matter of great prejudice?

" IV. Can it be thought expedient or reasonable, that the
" plaintiff making choice of the court Christian for his re-
" lief, should afterwards in the same cause be suffered to
" procure a *prohibition?* Were it not sound discretion and
" policy to cut off such wilful, malicious vexation of the
" subject, and public scandal to justice itself, howsoever
" the law be silent or defective in that behalf?

" V. To sue for a *prohibition*, not until after conclusion
" in the cause, is very preposterous and inconvenient: but
" after sentence given, in Bracton's opinion, is altogether
" unlawful: much more after two or three instances, and
" as many sentences past. And yet in all these cases *pro-*
" *hibitions* are common and ordinary.

" VI. What law or reason can be pretended, why the
" judge ecclesiastical, after *consultation* delivered unto him,
" may not condemn the party, who brought in the *prohibi-*
" *tion, in expensis retardati processus:* in case the judge
" shall refuse, as oftentimes they do, to assess double cost
" and damages, according to the statute, or in any other
" case whatsoever; wherein the judges can or will allow no
" charges at all?

" VII. If in the *prohibition* directed to the ecclesiastical 540
" judge, the suggestion appear notoriously false, vain, or fri-
" volous, (as in some of late hath been seen,) why may not
" the temporal judges in that case be justly presumed wit-

BOOK IV. Anno 1600.

" tingly and willingly to infringe the liberties of the Church?
" and thereupon, after due circumstances observed, be de-
" clared and denounced excommunicate, according to the
" statute in that behalf established?

" VIII. Is there either warrant or colour of law, that any
" *prohibition* should be grounded upon either of these sur-
" mises, *viz.* that matters testamentary and matrimonial
" only be ecclesiastical; or that the law civil requireth two
" witnesses, where the common law accepteth of one: see-
" ing by the first suggestion divers and sundry causes, un-
" doubtedly known and confessed to be of ecclesiastical
" cognizance, are falsely supposed to be of temporal juris-
" diction? And by the second unlearnedly misconstrued,
" no cause so merely spiritual, but must be determined by
" the common law.

" IX. Were it not very convenient and necessary, consi-
" dering the long, tedious, and chargeable suits in obtain-
" ing *consultations*, together with the manifold difficulties
" which accompany such unwelcome motions; that the
" temporal judges could be pleased, for the relief of poor
" subjects, within some reasonable and competent time, to
" determine the questions depending before them, as touch-
" ing *consultations?* And that hereafter the spiritual court
" be not kept in suspence for two, three, or four years, as
" oftentimes it hath been, before the *consultation* can be
" procured; notwithstanding the best and uttermost endea-
" vours of the defendant, and the manifest justice and
" equity of his demands?

" X. It seemeth by the scope and purport of the most
" ancient statutes in that behalf provided, that the *prohibi-*
" *tions* and *consultations*, as other ordinary writs, ought not
" to be granted but in the Court of Chancery by the Lord
" Chancellor of England. And, howsoever of later years the
" course hath been drawn another way, yet no doubt the
" power of the Chancery is not any whit thereby restrained,
" but that he lawfully may, and it were to be wished he
" would, resume and put in execution his ancient right and
" authority. So should not her Majesty's ecclesiastical ju-

" risdiction be driven, as now it is, to admit the censure " and judgment of those, who indeed be principal parties, " as touching the question of *prohibitions*. CHAP. XXVI. Anno 1600.

" XI. What cause or grievance cannot be redressed by any " writ of the Chancery, there the statute expressly forbids " the King's *prohibition* to take place. But it is manifest " and notorious, that most of the *prohibitions* nowadays, " or rather all, be granted in stay of such complaints, as " wherein, neither by any writ out of the Chancery, nor by " any other course of proceedings at the common law, the " subject can receive sound justice or final censure.

" XII. Can it be warranted either by law or statute, " that after consultation once be granted in the King's " Bench, a second *prohibition* should be gotten out of the " Common Pleas in the same cause; the libel in the mat- " ter not being augmented, enlarged, nor otherwise altered? " And yet, howsoever the statute be plain and evident to " the contrary, divers such *prohibitions* have been of late " years obtained and brought to the courts ecclesias- " tical.

" If such care and considerations had been taken in grant- " ing of *prohibitions*, as were fit and necessary in cases of " so great moment, the judges temporal would never have " granted so many *consultations* as have been received " within the compass of three years.

" Forasmuch as both the jurisdictions, ecclesiastical and " temporal, be now united in the Crown of this realm, which " were heretofore *de facto* severed and divided from seve- " ral heads and authorities; and for that the ground and " true original cause of *prohibition* was no other than the " foresaid severance and partition of jurisdiction; may it " not very probably be drawn into case, whether, as the " case now standeth, any *prohibition* at all may, in sound " construction of law, be warranted? At least how the " form and manner of *prohibitions* heretofore used, may 541
" now, without offence and derogation to the Queen's pre- " rogative ecclesiastical, be retained and practised: as " though the two jurisdictions remained now distinct and

BOOK IV.

Anno 1600.

" several as before. And as though her Majesty's jurisdic-
" tion ecclesiastical may not with as little prejudice to the
" Crown encroach upon the temporal, as the temporal may
" upon the ecclesiastical.

" But in case the *prohibition*, by force of so many years
" use and custom, may not now conveniently be discontinued, either in matter or manner; yet, in true sense and
" meaning of law, what reason can be devised, why the *prohibitions* should be extended to the restraint of her Majesty's High Commission or Court of Delegates: both of
" them being authorized under the Great Seal of England,
" and established by act of Parliament, and neither of them
" so much as thought upon for divers hundreds of years
" after the *prohibition* was current in England: neither by
" any colour of argument or similitude can be drawn to the
" case of ordinary jurisdiction, as then it was, or now it is
" used?

" And for that her Majesty's delegates have no general
" commission *ad universitatem causarum;* but for every
" several cause of appeal, certain special and particular
" commission; it may seem somewhat strange and extraordinary, that any subject should presume to countermand her Majesty's express commission; and to forbid
" the judges delegate to proceed any further in any one
" cause, which her Majesty hath specially and particularly
" commanded either to hear or determine."

The declining condition of the Civilians.

By these motions and arguments the Archbishop and Bishops did endeavour to remedy the contempts and injuries put upon them and their courts, nay, and, as it seems, upon the Queen herself, by evading her special commissions. This caused many other discourses and arguments from year to year. And however the Archbishop laboured against these *prohibitions*, they increased more and more. Insomuch that some years after, under the next Archbishop, Dr. Bancroft, all the Civilians, Judges, and Advocates of his Arches, petitioned him for some redress hereof, so prejudicial unto them in their judicatories. Whereupon that Archbishop, in a long letter writ to some considerable person

Bancroft's letter in favour of them.

near the King, (perhaps Sir Julius Cæsar, a Privy Counsellor and a Civilian,) desired him to recommend their suit unto his Majesty, which, as the Archbishop said, should rather have been immediately addressed unto, who was best able to relieve them. Declaring his great good-will towards those learned men; and blaming the judges of the temporal courts severely for their hard dealings with, and censures of, those of the court Christian. He said, "that for his own "part, they could expect nothing at his hands, that he did "not meditate and endeavour, by all means he could pos- "sibly, to effect on their behalf. And that he knew, that "Europe could not afford in any one place, or college, so "many worthy men of their profession as they of that so- "ciety were, however they were despised: men truly learn- "ed according to the precepts and rules of so many arts "as they had been brought up in. That he was well con- "tented that they of the common law might have the com- "mendation they deserved; so they did not appropriate "unto themselves the quintessence as it were of all wisdom "and understanding: or rather a vain and ridiculous con- "ceit, as he added, borrowed of the Pope; as if they had "power to judge all men, but must be judged by none." And so going on to take the freedom at large to speak his mind of them: "and that whatever their pretences were of "relieving the commons, [in drawing their causes from the "spiritual and civil courts of judicature,] they were other- "wise back-friends enough, as well as others of the gentry, "however their representatives in the late Parliament. "Concluding in short, that were the Judges so careful, that "the poor commons might have their birthright, they "would not contend so much to bring other men into ha- "tred, but really and indeed be more respective of them. "And so at last, he prayed the honourable person to whom "he wrote, that what he himself could not perform for so "worthy persons as those learned Doctors were, he would 542
"commend him in his name unto his Majesty; that he "would be pleased to effect, as he doubted not he might, "without depriving of his subjects of their birthright, or

BOOK IV.

Anno 1600.

"shewing himself such a king and absolute monarch, as, "not caring for any laws, would do as he listed." Words that some of the judges had used in the heat of their contests against that Archbishop, for no other cause than that he had desired his Majesty's temporal judges might keep themselves in some reasonable sort within their own bounds, and not to invade, as they did, the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This whole letter, so suitable to this present business, though written some years after, I have thought worthy to be preserved among the rest of the records.

N°. XLI.

Some contest between the Archbishop and the University.

Our Archbishop had this year some dispute with the University of Cambridge. The Heads had suspended one Mr. Butler for some neglect, whereby he had incurred the penalty of the breach of some one of their statutes. But he made his application to the Archbishop: who thereupon, thinking, out of his compassionate nature, that he had somewhat hard measure, so far favoured him, that he wrote letters to the Heads in his behalf: and withal entered into some argument with them of too much rigour in their proceedings in the execution of their statutes. This cost the Archbishop two letters. But the University would not let go their privileges; so as to revoke what they had done, as unwarrantable. Yet, out of that high respect they had to his Grace, they complied with him for the restoring of Butler: that is, requiring him only to make his acknowledgments, and to give his thanks to the Heads, for their withdrawing his suspension. Whose submissive and grateful letter to the Archbishop ran in this tenor:

The letter of the Heads to the Archbishop. Regist. Whitg. f. 120.

"That whereas it had pleased his Grace, in his late letters sent unto them in friendly manner, to move and advise them the second time, for the ending the matter in "question touching Mr. Butler's suspension; they were "content (being most unwilling to contend in this or any "other thing with one of their honourable best friends) to "yield to his Grace's request, and to let fall the said censure. For although they were persuaded they had very "good ground for such scholastical suspensions; yet, that

" seeing his Grace affirmed, that herein they should neither
" prejudice themselves nor others, (as they also were de-
" sirous that nothing hereby might be done to the impeach- Anno 1600.
" ment of their privileges,) they had thought meet, by this
" course and issue, to own his Grace's favour towards them,
" rather than further to give occasion of any offensive op-
" position, in treating according to the form of his Grace's
" letters: that by his directions the said scholar might
" come thither, and (if to his Grace it seemed so good) to
" desire this favour by word, as he had partly done by let-
" ter, or at the least thankfully to acknowledge and receive
" the same. And so they humbly took their leaves. From
" Cambridge, the 10th of April, 1600. Subscribing them-
" selves,

" His Grace's most humbly to command,

" Ro. Soame, Procancell. Rog. Goade, Edm. Barwel,
" Ri. Clayton, Joh. Overal, Joh. Duport, Jam. Moun-
" tague, Laur. Chaderton."

And so the act against him being not entered into their records, but only set down in a paper, as the Deputy had commanded, the said paper was delivered up to Dr. Soame, the Vice-Chancellor, and consequently cancelled.

Stow dedicates his Annals to the Archbishop.

There were some remarkable books that came forth this year, dedicated to our Archbishop: as, Stow's Annals, in quarto, (which after his death came forth in folio.) By whose epistle it appears what a patron and friend the Archbishop was to that exact and laborious antiquarian; that hath so well deserved of this realm, and particularly of the great metropolitical city thereof. To the said most reverend Father he gave some account of himself and of his la- 543
bours. " That it was now forty years since he addressed
" all his cares and cogitations to the study of history and
" search of antiquities. And that the greatest part thereof
" he had diligently employed in collecting such matters of
" this kingdom, as he thought were worthy to be recom-
" mended both to the present and succeeding age. That
" these collections, in so long a time, had now at length

BOOK IV.

Anno 1600.

" grown to a large volume; which he was willing to have " committed to the press, but that the printer, for some " private respects, was more desirous to publish Annals at " this present: wherein he had condescended to him. And " these being now finished from the press, he submitted to " the Archbishop's gracious and grave consideration, &c. " relying, he said, wholly upon this comfort, that the truth " and credit of the authors was in no point injured, how " simple and naked soever the style might be judged. Nor " did he doubt but that they might have free passage in " the world, if they were countenanced under his honour- " able name and protection, &c. being hereunto induced, " both for that his worthy predecessor, Archbishop Parker, " had animated him in the course of these studies; which " otherwise, as he added, he had long since discontinued. " And also, that his Grace's great love and affection to all " good studies in general, and to *antiquities* in particular, " had been so singular, that all who liked and loved good " studies, justly esteemed him their principal and gracious " patron. And so hoped of his favourable acceptance." Dated from London, November 24, 1600.

Dr. Andrew Willet dedicates his Synopsis Papismi to the Archbishop.

Now also Dr. Andrew Willet set forth a third edition of the *Synopsis Papismi:* which book gave a large account of all the controversies between the Church of Rome and the Protestant Reformed Church; with particular confutations of that degenerate Church's errors. Or, (as he himself saith of it,) containing the whole sum of that "holy faith and " religion, which the Queen maintained, and the Church of " England professed." The dedication of this third edition was in Latin, to the Archbishop, and Richard, Bishop of London; wherein he took notice, how by his Grace's care the differences in this Church were greatly abated and quieted. That the domestic contentions were now laid asleep, and the strife which so much shewed itself among ourselves sunk, and grew cold; and the heat of dissension, which had so much set people on fire, was ceased. Whereby, as he said, this benefit accrued, that the arms wherewith they fought one against another now were turned

Quod domesticæ contentiones consopitæ sunt, et quæ intus in nos gliscebat lis, fatiscat jam et frigescat, &c.

against the common enemy. And in the same epistle to our Archbishop, speaking of some that said, "Those called "Puritans, our home-enemies, and such like, were more to "be feared than the Papists; that such seemed to be much "mistaken. For what do they? said he. They only, as "angry dogs, bark for a time, as one said of them; but "these Papists bite and tear, as devouring wolves. That "they [the Puritans] were sometime troublesome, but, having been invited by his [the Archbishop's] humanity, or "appeased by his prudence, or confirmed by his sounder "judgment, were now quiet." Anno 1600.

He farther gave his advice to both these reverend Fathers, the Archbishop and Bishop of London, concerning the confirmation of the Protestant doctrine against Popery: "suggesting to their prudence, that nothing seemed to him "more necessary for the establishing of the true faith, and "for the deciding of all contests, if, as Marlorate had done "with good success, putting and comparing together the "interpretation of the later writers, so that there were "found out some one able person that would, with like "industry and faithfulness, collect the commentaries of the "ancient interpreters. And that such an ecclesiastical exposition of the orthodox Fathers would administer wonderful profit to all studious persons, and be very efficacious to throw down the whole bulk of Papism: since "the Popish strength in great part depended upon false "interpretations of Scripture. Wishing that one that had "leisure and good supply of books, and other helps, might "most happily enter upon this work." And then the author, shewing his submission to his Metropolitan and Diocesan, concluded modestly, "that he depended upon their "judgment, acquiesced in their sentence; what they cor- 544
"rected, he amended; what they reproved, he did not defend; what they approved, he held." This was dated from Barlee, his rectory, in October 1600. His advice to the Archbishop, confirming true faith against Popery.

In this edition also was an epistle dedicatory to Queen Elizabeth. Where, speaking of the Queen's clemency towards the Papists, in answer to a great slander mentioned And to the Queen. Her clemency to the Papists.

BOOK IV.

by Cardinal Bellarmine, (lib. iii. *De Rom. Pontif.*) that the rage of the Calvinists [meaning thereby Protestants] in few years had consumed more Catholics [meaning thereby Papists] than there had suffered Protestants among them: "which," saith our author Dr. Willet, "is a most slander-"ous untruth, and unjust accusation." And then applying to the Queen concerning such Papists as had been executed in her reign, averred, "that she might call heaven and "earth to record against these false witnesses, that all "Christian nations could testify this whole land able for "to justify the same, that none of them by her Majesty's "godly laws had died for religion, but for their rebellion; "not for their profession, but for their practising; not for "their contempt of the truth, but for their attempts against "the State."

Anno 1600.

None executed for their religion, but for rebellion.

The Archbishop was also concerned this year about the three books of Mr. Hooker, (who was now dead,) remaining yet unprinted, though finished by him, as it was said, before his death, to perfect his excellent book of the Ecclesiastical Polity. Great was the expectation of the learned, to enjoy these his last labours; the world having already known the great learning, judgment, and moderation of the former. Our Archbishop also was careful and inquisitive for them; that so the book being perfected, it might serve for a complete vindication, and a standing defence of this Church. This made him, about a month after Mr. Hooker's death, send to his widow (as the writer of his life had been told) one of his Chaplains, to inquire of her for those three remaining books. But she could not, or would not, give any account of them. But that within three months after, the good Archbishop, labouring earnestly that such a treasure might not be lost, procured her to be sent for to London; in order to be examined by some of the Privy Council concerning the disposal of those books. In the mean time the Archbishop invited her to dinner, and then friendly put some questions to her of this affair. And thereupon she confessed, that one Mr. Chark, (one that formerly for his principles was expelled the University,) and another

The Archbishop inquires for Hooker's three books.

Walton's Life of Hooker.

Minister, that dwelt near Canterbury, came to her, and desired that they might go into her late husband's study, and look upon some of his writings: and that there they two burnt and tore many of them; assuring her that they had so done, they being writings not fit to be seen. She added, that she knew nothing more concerning them. Anno 1600.

There were two offices of public prayer this year appointed; wherein the Archbishop, I suppose, had the chief hand, as chief orderer of the affairs of religion in the kingdom, next under the Queen. The one was a seasonable prayer, to be used for her Majesty, now upon the entrance into a new century of years: the other upon the deliverance from the rebellion of the Earl of Essex, February 1600. Which office consisted of several prayers, entitled, *Certain Prayers fit for the time.* Two new offices of prayer appointed to be used.

CHAP. XXVII. 545

The Archbishop's letter, requiring the Bishops, with the rest of the Clergy, to send light horse, upon the Pope and Spaniards invading Ireland. A Parliament. Bills put in there against Bishops' leases; against pluralities and nonresidences; and against Commissaries' frequent courts. A Convocation: what was done there. The Archbishop's letters to the Bishops concerning their courts, &c. Complained much of in Parliament. The abuses, under several articles, the Archbishop requires the Bishops to redress, according to former constitutions.

THE danger Ireland was in this year, the Spaniard and Pope sending forces thither, (making an invasion, and landing in Munster,) made it necessary for the Queen to send over a power speedily, to repel those hostile invaders: that came only to set up the Popish religion, and a Spanish tyranny, and to deprive the Queen of that kingdom. The Queen on this urgent occasion wrote herself to the Archbishop, to require the Bishops, with the Clergy in every diocese, (who she knew, as she graciously wrote in her let- Anno 1601. The Queen to the Archbishop upon an invasion in Ireland.

BOOK IV.

ter, were always ready to serve her,) to raise horsemen for that service in Ireland.

Anno 1601. The Archbishop to the Bishops hereupon. Regist. Whitg. fol. 132.

Whereupon, in a ready obedience thereunto, the Archbishop wrote at large very effectually, in the month of October, to the Bishops his letters, to this tenor: "That "whereas the King of Spain and the Pope having long fos- "tered, by underhand means, her Majesty's rebels in Ire- "land, had now of late discovered their malice in more "open manner, by sending into that kingdom a navy, and "an army of men, who were landed in the province of "Munster; pretending both to restore there the Romish "religion, and to reduce that realm under Spanish tyranny "and servitude. That for defence against both which, as "her Majesty had put herself to such charge as the weight- "iness of the cause required, by sending thither present "great supplies of horse and foot; so, for the ease of some "part of her charge, as much as conveniently might be, "she was forced, according to the example of her progeni- "tors, and of other princes in like cases, to have recourse "to the good-will of such her subjects as were of ability "to bear some part of her burden; and to require of them "certain light horses to be furnished and sent into Ireland. "Which as she did require of all her subjects of the better "sort generally, so, because she knew, and was persuaded, "that there were among them none who, either for the "defence of the religion, or for their zeal to her honour and "to the safety of her kingdoms, would be more ready to "aid her than they of the Clergy:

"She by her letters, under her own hand and signet, di- "rected to him, [the Archbishop,] did require and thereby "authorize him to direct letters in her name to all Bishops, "Deans, and other spiritual persons within his province; "requiring them severally to furnish such number of good "and sufficient light horses as he [the Archbishop] should "think fit, in such manner and sort, and to be ready to "embark at such place and time, as by the Lords and "others of her Highness's Privy Council should be signi- "fied unto him.

"That these were therefore, by virtue of her foresaid "letters, and in her Majesty's name, to will and require "his Lordship, by himself, his Dean and Chapter, and some "others of ability of the Clergy within his diocese, who "were best known unto him, to provide and furnish "good and sufficient light horses or geldings, fitted with "Morocco saddles of buff, or other good leather, and the "rest of the furniture thereunto agreeable: and that the "men to serve on them be armed with good cuirasses and "casques, petronels furnished, good swords and daggers, "and horsemen's coats of good cloth. And that their "Lordships' opinion was, that nothing would more exalt "the service, than the choice of such men as had been "used to ride: and therefore none more fit than such as "were born in the north parts, if possibly they might be "had. Anno 1601. 546

"That the place whither they were to repair, was the "part of Bristol; and the time was the 26th of this instant "month [October.] Of which time and place they might "in no wise fail; the use that could be made of them in "this service depending only and wholly upon their speedy "despatch. And that forasmuch as the number wherewith "that diocese was charged was in comparison very small, "and the charges not small, he [the Archbishop] doubted "not but that he [the Bishop of the diocese] would forth-"with, and with all possible speed, without any farther de-"lay, provide that the same horses and riders might be "furnished accordingly; and be ready at the time and "place. And so with his hearty commendation he com-"mitted him to the tuition of Almighty God. From Lam-"beth, the 9th of October, 1601. Subscribing, Your lov-"ing brother in Christ."

A Parliament on this occasion.

And this was the chief reason of the Queen's calling a Parliament together this month of October, as it was shewed to them in the Lord Keeper's speech at the opening of it; namely, the war between England and Spain, and our other enemies, (whom he called *God's enemies* as well as ours,) that had conspired together to overthrow our

BOOK IV.

religion, and to reduce us to a tyrannical government and servitude.

Anno 1601. Bills brought in respecting the Clergy.

In this Parliament were brought in certain bills that touched the state of the Bishops and the rest of the Clergy. As, a bill for examination of such statutes as touched leases to be made by Archbishops and Bishops, which tended to the disabling them to take fines in letting their leases. But Mr. Bois, the Archbishop's steward, spake so well against it, that it was rejected. Another bill was brought in, Nov. 16, that closely touched such Ministers as had pluralities, and were nonresidents; being a bill for redressing certain inconveniences in the statute 21. Hen. VIII. cap. 13. entitled, *An Act against Pluralities of Benefices, for taking of Farms by Spiritual Persons, and for Nonresidences.* This was spoken against by divers Civilians, members of the House, and debated and answered by several on the other side: Dr. Dun said, it was no reason that men of unequal deserts should be equally beneficed, or equalized with the best. Dr. Crompton wished that pluralities of offices might be taken from the laity, and then pluralities of benefices from the spiritualty, &c. And that impropriations being taken from them, [and possessed by the laity,] they could not keep that hospitality that was required. And marriage being allowed them, they living at a great charge of wives and children, one benefice of small cure sufficed not.

D'Ewes' Journ. p. 639.

Objections in the House against pluralities, answered.

Dr. James, another Civilian, said, "that whereas it had "been said that pluralities were the cause of bringing cor- "ruptions into the Church, he thought the contrary; be- "cause corruption is commonly where poverty is. But if "competent living be given to the Minister, he saw no "reason why just men should judge corruption to be "there. Secondly, that whereas it was said, that the "taking away of pluralities would be a means of preach- "ing the word; he answered, that if hope of competent "living were taken away, it would be a means to make "the best wits refuse the study of divinity. He bade "them consider, that in England there were 8,800 and odd

" parish churches: six hundred of which did afford com-
" petent livings for a Minister. What then, demanded he,
" should become of the multitude of our learned men, that
" should have no other preferment to get, unless it were
" some deanery, prebend, or such like; which was no easy
" matter to do, there were so few; especially in this
" catching age? And that there would be no equality, to
" give the best scholars no greater proportion than the
" meanest artisan, or to give all alike. Further, that this
" would breed poverty in the greatest learned; which is
" the mother of contempt; a thing both dangerous and
" odious unto divinity. Again, that this must needs en-
" force preachers to preach *placentia*, [*i. e.* things that
" please the people, rather than profit them.] And that a
" preacher (who was no ordinary person) ought to have
" some extraordinary reward. For that the canon saith,
" he who hath a plurality must be *ad minimum Artium*
" *Magister, aut publicus et idoneus verbi divini concio-*
" *nator.*" All these I look upon to be the instructions and arguments suggested by the Archbishop to these Civilians, to be used on this occasion.

547

These bills touched upon the Queen's prerogative.

But the bill was committed, notwithstanding all these speeches, and what further Harris, a Sergeant at Law, at last had added, how the Queen might take it; namely, that if they proceeded to determine this bill, they should not only infringe a custom which they had ever observed, *viz.* to meddle with no matter that touched her Majesty's prerogative; but also procure her great displeasure, &c. And that the last Parliament might be a warning to them, when the like bill was preferred, and the same not only rejected, but her Majesty commanded the Lord Keeper to tell them, that she hoped they would not hereafter meddle in cases of this nature, so nearly touching upon her prerogative royal.

A bill against Commissaries' and Officials' courts.

It appears by what follows after, that there was another bill put into this Parliament, which was against Commissaries' and Archdeacons' courts; and the frequency of them, and the monies exacted there, as a very great

BOOK IV.

Anno 1601.

grievance to the subject. Which D'Ewes in his journal of this Parliament takes no notice of; but the Archbishop was sufficiently concerned about it; and bestirred himself, and used all his interest, and especially took measures for the redressing these abuses, too justly complained of; foreseeing how his, and all the rest of the Bishops' courts, were like to be quite overthrown, or at least most of them; as we shall hear in the process of the story.

A Convocation. The Archbishop's exhortation to the Bishops. Extract. of Convoc. Rev. P. Fra. D. Episc. Roff.

The Convocation began to sit at St. Paul's, Octob. 18. At the 5th and 6th sessions, Nov. 18. a grant of four subsidies, that was propounded, passed, and was engrossed, payable within four years. The first payment to begin March the 26th, 1602. Session the 18th, of Decemb. 21, the Archbishop present exhorted the Bishops to be diligent in their charge, and careful to observe the canons made in the last Convocation. And particularly gave them caution, I. Not to proceed in court upon Apparitors' promoting, without Churchwardens' presentments, or other just inquisition. II. That ecclesiastical judges hold not frequenter courts than one in five weeks. III. That Chancellors and Officials call not men to several courts for the same cause. IV. To have yearly but once a quarter bills of presentments. V. That the Curates of nonresidents be able persons; and have good allowances for their pains. VI. That none but Chancellors grant licences for marriage. All which things the Archbishop had particularly required of the Bishops by his letters formerly written to them. And so this Synod was dissolved. So prudently diligent was the Archbishop to keep up the jurisdiction of Bishops' courts and their officers, and the wealthy estate of the Clergy, by preserving nonresidences to them; and yet by so moderating them, that he might prevent, if possible, the clamours of the disaffected against them: which came now loudly to the Parliament.

The Archbishop endeavours to redress too frequent courts.

It was six or seven months before, that the Archbishop had written to the Bishops at large, for the remedying of those matters, whereof he exhorted them in the foresaid Convocation by word of mouth: as namely, for their re-

dressing of the Bishops' and their Archdeacons' too frequent courts, which was not so used formerly; namely, quarterly courts, held by their Commissaries and Officials, and the great inconvenience arising thence, of continual attendance upon them, to the hinderance of men's business. This had caused great complaints, which came to the Archbishop's ears. He knowing what enemies these courts had, thought fit to get this abuse remedied, as he did endeavour to do, by the constitutions that were made in the Convocation, anno 1597: but yet not sufficiently observed; chiefly by the covetousness of the inferior officers, who made gain thereof: whereupon, in the month of May, he sent his circular letters to the Bishops of his province, (directing them how to proceed in the regulation of this abuse,) to this tenor: Anno 1601. 548

"That there had divers complaints been made, and "that to the personages of great place, who had ac- "quainted him therewith; that by reason of the often "keeping of courts by Commissaries, and by the Arch- "deacons' Officials, and by the multitude of several Ap- "paritors serving under them, the subject was almost "vexed weekly with attendance on their several courts, "to their infinite charge and daily vexation. And fur- "ther, that by a disorder, not long since crept into those "courts without warrant, of making quarter bills of pre- "sentments, whereas their visitations were holden but "once, or at the most twice in every year: so that what "with Churchwardens' continual attendance in those "courts, which in many places came to more than was "by a whole parish for any one cessement made to her "Majesty, the poor men, who were chosen Churchwar- "dens, by their continual attendance on those courts, "were, in their estates, hindered greatly in leaving their "day-labour for attendance there.

"These, and divers like complaints, were daily brought "unto him, with a general exclamation against Commis- "saries' and Officials' courts, for such like grievances of the

BOOK IV.

Anno 1601.

" subject. He had well hoped, he said, that the consti-
" tutions made the last Convocation, and their Lordships'
" promise to see them duly executed, (knowing how their
" ecclesiastical jurisdiction was then spurned at,) would
" have prevented these above named, and all other like
" complaints: but he feared the greediness of mean inferior
" Registers and Apparitors, under their Lordships' Com-
" missaries and Archdeacons, was so rooted in them, as it
" would breed a greater blemish than hitherto had come
" upon their whole jurisdiction; unless their Lordships did
" with a more vigilant care prevent that mischief.

" These were therefore to pray and require their Lord-
" ships presently, upon receipt of these letters, to call
" before them their Chancellor, Commissary, and all their
" Archdeacons, or their Officials, where there were any
" under them, and to cause them to bring unto their
" Lordships their records of their courts keeping, for mat-
" ter of office used about the third and fourth year of her
" Majesty's reign: and that their Lordships would out of
" them take a true extract, signed with the Judges' and
" Registers' own hands, certifying these three particular
" points: I. How often the Churchwardens of every parish
" did bring in their bills of presentment at that time;
" whether quarterly or no. II. How often their Commis-
" saries, or their Officials, did keep their courts in every
" quarter: and how long time difference there was be-
" tween their Commissary courts, and the Archdeacons'
" Officials. And lastly, what number of Apparitors every
" Commissary, and every Archdeacon, or his Official, had
" within their Lordships' diocese at that time.

" That this being by their Lordships truly found out,
" he was further to pray and require them to inform them-
" selves, under all their foresaid officers, and their several
" Registers' hands, what bills were now quarterly or
" otherwise brought in by the Churchwardens of every
" several parish within their diocese, to every of them.
" (For that it was informed, that every parish was quar-
" terly charged with as great a charge for certifying of

" recusants, as they were for bills of presentments.) And " what was payed, either to Apparitor or Register, for " making or exhibiting of these several bills. (For he did " not hear that the Judges had any fee due for their ex- " hibits.) Their Lordships were likewise required to in- " form themselves, what difference there was at this pre- " sent between the multiplicity of these courts within their " said diocese, and those in former times: as also, of the " number of Apparitors belonging to all those offices, over " those which were of twenty years before the last Parlia- " ment.

" That in all or every of these, if their Lordships should 549
" find any alteration, then, for the avoidance of those " grievous complaints daily brought up thither, [to him,] " and so to the open contempt of the last canons, their " Lordships were hereby required to do their best endea- " vours to reduce all these enormities unto the former " form, both of making bills of presentments, and of re- " ducing the number of those inferior courts to their for- " mer lists; and of restraining the great vexation of the " subject by multiplicity of Apparitors. And for that he " himself desired to be satisfied in his care, and promised " help in reforming these abuses, he did hereby pray and " require their Lordships, that by the last day of July " next ensuing, they would transmit unto him, under their " Lordships' own hands, all the particulars above set " down, with their Lordships' orders taken for reforming " the premises, and for bringing of them to their former " course. And so bade their Lordships heartily farewell. " From Lambeth, the 22d of May, 1601. Subscribing,

" Your Lordships' loving brother in Christ."

Complaints in Parliament against the spiritual courts.

This provident care of the Archbishop over the spiritual courts of his province, (the excesses whereof were so grievous to the people,) did in some measure mitigate the complaints thereof in the last Parliament; which otherwise might have endangered the whole authority, and the overthrow of them. But notwithstanding, these Commis-

BOOK IV.

saries' and Archdeacons' courts escaped not divers articles of accusation in that Parliament: as, about the proceed-

Anno 1601. ings of the Ordinaries *ex officio mero*, without due presentments preceding: the frequent keeping of the courts; oftentimes weekly: that Churchwardens were cited sometimes to two or three courts at once: the charging of the country with quarterly bills, to the burden of the subject: the great numbers of Apparitors and petty Sumners; who often seized upon the people for trifling offences: the admission of Curates by Officials and Commissaries, without the Bishop's knowledge, and without testimonials of their conversations: scandals by commutation of penance more common than formerly: and divers other abuses were laid before the said Parliament. Whereupon, in the month of January, soon after the Parliament was risen, the vigilant Archbishop backed his former letter, and his speech to the Bishops in the late Convocation, with this excellent address to them:

The Archbishop's letter to the Bishops about their courts, &c. Regist. Whitg.

"*Salutem in Christo.* Your Lordship hath by experience now found, how the not reforming of the inconveniences crept into ecclesiastical inferior courts, specified in my letters sent unto you in April last, hath bred that effect which was then feared; even the multitudes of complaints made against them in the last Parliament. Which had they not been prevented with good circumspection, and hope promised of careful reformation hereafter of those abuses and grievances of the subject in the inferior courts, there might perhaps have ensued the taking away of the whole or most of those courts: which caused me at our last assembly in Convocation to admonish my brethren there present, and those Deans, Archdeacons, and other Clerks of the Convocation who then attended, to have a more careful and vigilant heed to the preserving of the constitutions made in the former Convocation, and confirmed by her most excellent Majesty: and more particularly to redress these enormities following, so much complained of in

" the Parliament House; as impugning our own late care " in making the former constitutions. Which had they " been well observed, these enormities had been all re- " dressed.

" I. The inconveniences which do arise by proceeding " of Ordinaries *ex officio mero*, without either due present- " ment or lawful inquisition preceding.

" II. The over frequent and often keeping of courts, " used by Commissaries and Officials, to the vexing of the " subject, and especially Churchwardens, with weekly " [summons,] causing their leaving other business, to at- " tend some court or other.

" III. The common snatching by prevention, used be- 550 " tween Commissaries and Officials in matters of correc- " tion. Whereby neither do the Churchwardens know " where to present, nor the subject is suffered quietly to " answer his offence in any one court; he is so distracted " by being cited in two or three courts at once.

" IV. The vexing and charging the country with quarter " bills: an abuse but lately crept into those courts, directly " against law, and very burdensome to the subject.

" V. The infinite number of Apparitors and petty Sum- " ners hanging upon every court; two or three of them at " once most commonly seizing upon the subject for every " trifling offence, to make work to their courts.

" VI. The admission of Curates, hand over head, by " Officials and Commissaries in the country, without the " Bishop's knowledge of them, and without receiving due " testimony of their conversation, as by the constitutions " is required in the ordering of Ministers; as also, the " breach of that part of the constitution *De beneficiorum* " *pluralitate cohibenda*. Which requireth, that no Curate " shall serve under a double-beneficed man, but such an " one as for his sufficiency to preach, and for the compe- " tency of his stipend, shall be approved by myself or the " Bishop Diocesan; the ordinary fees of the admission of " such Curate being notwithstanding reserved to those " courts where they are granted.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1601.

" VII. The scandal which groweth by commutation of " penances, more rife than before the late constitutions " were made, without the Bishop's privity, warrant, or " consent.

" VIII. And lastly, The granting licences of marriages " by Archdeacons and their Officials, and others exercising " peculiar jurisdictions, who are no ways by law to be said " *exercere episcopalem jurisdictionem de jure:* neither was " it any ways intended at the making of these consti- " tutions, and expressly by her Majesty signified, that no " Bishop's officers, other than his Chancellor, should grant " any licence in any diocese.

" These being the grievances most noted, and both in " Parliament and otherwise complained of to be heavy for " the subject to undergo, as I did require at your Lord- " ship's hands a reformation of them within your diocese, " at the end of the Convocation, so I do hereby pray and " require you, that you will set down such observations to " your ecclesiastical officers, whereby all these above- " named inconveniences may be avoided, as the griev- " ances springing of the undue observing of the former " constitutions. And if any officer under you shall im- " pugn, or not duly perform the redressing of all these " disorders in manner as you shall prescribe them, he shall " assuredly know, that I had rather with severity reform " him, than bear those ordinary complaints; which in the " end may turn to the scandal of our jurisdiction ecclesias- " tical. And so not doubting but that you will have due " care of the premises, I commend your Lordship to God. " From Lambeth, the 7th of January.

" Your Lordship's loving brother in Christ."

CHAP. XXVIII. 551

Punishments for clandestine marriages, and absolutions granted by the Archbishop. The Archbishop granteth licences for killing flesh in Lent, in his liberties in Canterbury. His letter to his Steward about the abuse of them. Confirmations and consecrations of Bishops. The Archbishop informed of an ignorant empiric and astrologer at Lambeth. The Archbishop to the College of Physicians about him. His licence to build a place of sepulture; and for the appropriating it to the family. Tho. Cartwright alive; and quiet.

WHAT a severe and unbiassed observer our Archbishop himself was of the laudable constitutions and orders made, will appear by an impartial censure inflicted by him on a breach of one of them. It was in the cause of a clandestine marriage, without banns asking, or licence obtained; notwithstanding the quality of the persons married, and the dignity of the Divine that performed the office. The marriage was between the Earl of Hertford and a widow; the Divine was Tho. Monford, S. T. P. For he escaped not without suspension for so irregular an act, according to the penalty enjoined by the canon. And his absolution proceeded from no less than the Archbishop himself, after his submission and earnest desire to be absolved; the Archbishop granting it by an instrument sealed with his own seal, dated the 29. .1601, for a clandestine marriage (as the instrument imported) of Edward Earl of Hertford, and Frances Pranel, the widow and relict of Henry Pranel, Esq. now Countess of Hertford, out of their parish church, without any asking the banns, and without licence or dispensation on that behalf obtained, in the private house of the said Earl; yet according to the form of the public prayers: and for which he was suspended from his function for three years. But that he, being sensible of his offence against the ecclesiastical canons and constitutions, humbly prayed the Archbishop to provide for him

Anno 1601.

One suspended for a clandestine marriage, absolved by the Archbishop.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1601.

some remedy; he, the said Archbishop, considering he fell into this by error only, and ignorance of the ecclesiastical laws, not with any obdurate mind or contempt, did absolve him from the said sentence of suspension.

A couple clandestinely married, excommunicated; doing penance, absolved by the Archbishop. Regist. Whitg.

I find also another solemn instrument of absolution this year granted by the Archbishop to a couple so clandestinely married; who had been proceeded with by excommunication, and penance enjoined, according to the late constitution made in Convocation, and the Queen's confirmation thereof. This marriage, and the process of it, is thus related in the said instrument: Thomas James, of Tedworth, in the county of Oxon, and Mary James, alias Fulk, his wife, appeared personally, May 28, 1601, before Dr. Stanhope, the Archbishop's Vicar General; and confessed, that they, between the feast of St. Michael and All Saints, above a year ago, were joined together in matrimony, in the church or chapel of Tedworth, without thrice publishing the banns, and without any lawful licence or dispensation, and *eo prætextu, ipso facto,* fallen under the sentence of the greater excommunication, by the ecclesiastical canon and constitution, lately set forth and published by the Queen's authority, under the Great Seal of England; and still remain so bound and involved, to the great danger of their souls. And therefore, according to the admonition and decree of the Queen's Commis-
552 sioners, in that behalf interposed, they have humbly submitted themselves unto the correction of the most reverend the Archbishop for the foresaid crime; alleging, that they fell not into the sentence of excommunication in contempt of laws and canons made in that behalf, but altogether by the ignorance of the law in that part. Wherefore they humbly petitioned to be absolved from the said sentence of excommunication, and to be restored to their former state, and to the communion of the faithful: submitting themselves to any penance for the said crime to be inflicted.

Whereupon the Most Reverend, at their humble petition, having given their oath first *parendo juri et stando*

mandatis Ecclesiæ, absolved them, and either of them; and unto the feast of St. John Baptist next restored them to their former state unto that day. And then his Lordship enjoined them the following penance: That they shall, upon some Sunday between this and Midsummer-day next, in the same parish church of Tedworth, where they were married, in the time of divine service at morning prayer, immediately in the time of sermon there to be preached, (if there be any,) or else immediately after the Gospel read in the church, before the Ministers and parishioners there present, upon their knees, in the middle of the said church, say, publish, and declare, "that whereas "they, contrary to the laws of God and the Church of "England, had disorderly procured themselves to be mar-"ried in that church without banns three times lawfully "asked, or without any lawful licence or dispensation first "obtained in that behalf; whereby they had incurred by "law the sentence of excommunication, and so had cut "themselves off from the society of true Christians; the "which their offence they now finding to be no ways "warrantable either by the law of God or man, they do "most humbly upon their knees confess and acknowledge "themselves to be heartily sorry for the same. And being "now, by authority of my Lord's Grace of Canterbury's "court, restored unto their former estate, and unto the "communion of other Christians, they do profess they will "hereafter live as good Christians and good subjects, in "all dutiful obedience unto the laws of God and their "Prince."

And of the performance of this penance they were monished to bring in certificate into the Consistory of Paul's, on Saturday the 27th day of June next, under the hands of the Minister and Churchwardens of the same parish.

And at the conclusion these words were subjoined; "That in respect the parties are already married, and have "so continued the space of two years almost, this penance "may be commuted into a pecuniary mulct, to be be-"stowed upon the poor. Jo. Cantuar."

BOOK IV.

Anno 1601. The Archbishop licenseth two butchers in Canterbury to kill flesh in Lent.

And as he was very careful of the laws and constitutions of the Church, so was he also of its rites and observances; as particularly of the keeping of Lent: being also commonly, as it was this year, required by the Queen's command and proclamation, that a consideration might be had towards sick and infirm persons, some few butchers had a licence to kill flesh: and what sort of flesh also might be killed was also prescribed them in the said licence, *viz.* such as was fit for the sick to eat, and not forbidden by law. Such a licence the Archbishop granted this Lent to two butchers for his liberties within the city of Canterbury; but it was with much importunity: and two more, for the convenience of the whole city, had licence to kill flesh too; yet little observing the restrictions mentioned in their licences; besides the too great quantities by them killed. Of this the Archbishop took notice, and in some displeasure at it wrote to Mr. Bois, his Steward, to have it examined and rectified; signifying, "how he was informed

Writes to his Steward about liberty taken by more: and of the abuse. Rev. T. Bret. LL. D.

"of four butchers licensed to kill flesh in Canterbury and "the liberties thereof: and of their killing calves by law "prohibited; and that in great quantity. He confessed, "that through great importunity he had licensed two "within his liberties there; the one in Westgate, the "other in Stablegate; but that it was expressed in their "licence that they should only kill such flesh as was fit "for sick persons, and not by law prohibited. That he
553 "was the Steward of his liberties there; and therefore he "charged him to call for their licences, and to read them, "and to command the butchers to observe them duly. "And that if by order they ought to be bound, to take "bonds of them accordingly. And that he would do very "well to advise Mr. Mayor to take the like order with "such other butchers as were licensed in the town. For "I can assure you, added the Archbishop, that the matter "will be very narrowly looked into, and the officers "shrewdly censured that shall neglect their office herein. "Which advice I do write for the good-will I bear to "Mr. Mayor and the officers of that city. And so he

"committed him to the tuition of Almighty God. From "Lambeth, the 25th day of February, 1601." Subscribing, "Your assured loving friend." What happened upon this between the Archbishop and the Mayor we shall hereafter hear.

Anno 1601.

In this year were some vacant sees supplied with new Bishops.

Dove made Bishop of Peterborough.

Thomas Dove, Priest, M. A. Dean of the cathedral church of Norwich, was confirmed for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of De Burgo St. Petri, [Peterborough,] April 24, 1601. And consecrated on Sunday, April 26. following, in Lambeth chapel, by the Archbishop, assisted by Richard, Bishop of London; Thomas, Bishop of Winton; Anthony, Bishop of Chichester; and Martin, Bishop of Ely.

Morgan translated from Landaff to St. Asaph.

And on Thursday, September 17, was the confirmation of the election of William Morgan, S. T. P. Bishop of Landaff, for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of St. Asaph. Whose induction is set down to be on the 10th of October, directed to Thomas Banks, Dean of St. Asaph.

Fra. Godwin made Bishop of Landaff.

On the 14th of November was the election confirmed of Francis Godwin, S. T. P. for Bishop of Landaff. He was Sub-Dean of Exeter, and had been Chaplain to Lord Buckhurst, Lord Treasurer. And his consecration performed November 22. following, in the chapel of King Henry VII. in the collegiate church of St. Peter's, Westminster, by the Archbishop, assisted by Richard, Bishop of London; William, Bishop of Lincoln; and John, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

A pretender to physic and astrology shrouds himself at Lambeth. Royal College of Physic, p. 338.

I am loath to omit a few more private matters that fell out within this year. The Archbishop in the month of July sent a letter to the College of Physicians in London; the occasion this: one Simon Forman, a pretender to skill in physic and astrology, but a great impostor, was, by a warrant of the Censors of that college, committed to prison. But getting out by some means or other, he fled to Lambeth, as a place of protection from the college officers. Whereupon the college addressed their letter to the Arch-

BOOK IV.

Anno 1601.

bishop. Wherein they shew him, that one Forman, an intruder into the profession of physic, had been a great practiser in London; depending much upon speculation and sights of nativities, and upon astrology; miserably deceiving the innocency of simple-minded people. And that his ignorance appeared by his absurd answers upon his examinations before them. And that this man had placed himself at Lambeth, a town under his Grace's jurisdiction, minding thereby, as it should appear, to abuse his honourable protection towards the premises. In consideration whereof they humbly beseeched his Grace, that, as well in regard of the insufficiency of the man, as also for the better countenance of their ancient privileges, he might be frustrate of his expectation in that behalf. And that by his Grace's favour they might be aided and permitted, without any impediment, to use such lawful ordinary course, as their laws and privileges had provided, for the suppressing of him and the like offenders. This letter was dated June the 28th, 1601.

His letter to the College of Physicians concerning him.

What little countenance the Archbishop gave such empirics, and what course himself had thought on to take with this man, and what a respect he had for that learned college, will appear by his answer; which was, "that "Forman neither was nor should be countenanced by "him; neither did he deserve it any way at his hands. "That he had heard not a very little of him; insomuch, "that he had a meaning to call him, by virtue of the com- "mission ecclesiastical, for divers misdemeanors, if any "man would take upon him the prosecution of the cause "against him. In which mind he remained still. And
554 "use your authority, added the Archbishop, in the name "of God. My officers shall give you assistance; or else "they shall be no officers of mine. And so committed "them to the tuition of Almighty God. From his house "at Croyden, the 4th of July." Subscribing,

"Your loving friend,

"Jo. Cantuar."

The Archbishop

I find an instrument of the Archbishop this year for li-

censing a place of sepulture, to be made by and appropriated to a gentleman to whom the licence was granted. Which being in a church in another diocese, and on what conditions granted, and a matter somewhat peculiar, I will not think much to set it down, nor will it take up many lines to shew the contents thereof. Robert Wyngfield, of the town or hamlet of Upton, within the parish of Castor, in the county of Northampton, Esq. desired a licence and faculty of the Archbishop to build a private sepulture or monument, *cum fornice*, [*i. e.* with a vault,] within the said chapel of Upton, for himself, wife, children, and relations, and their heirs, that should be lords proprietors of the said manor of Upton: the chapel or oratory, out of memory appropriated to his mansion, united and annexed; to hear divine service, and to partake of the sacraments, and to do all other religious offices, the burial of corpses only excepted: *tibi et hæredibus tuis*, &c. To him and his heirs it was granted to erect a private sepulture or monument, with a vault, in some convenient place within the chancel of Upton, for himself, his wife, children, &c. and lords proprietors, and for his and their families for all future times, there to be buried: and for the preservation and defence of the same, to separate it from other profane uses, that it might be compassed with a wall. Yet provided, that no prejudice came to the parochial church of Castor, nor to the Rector or Vicar of the same, in their ecclesiastical rights and emoluments: but that they be in all things preserved entire. This faculty was dated the 9th of January.

Anno 1601. grants a licence for a place of sepulture.

Thomas Cartwright, the Archbishop's old antagonist, of whom so much before, was yet alive, and grew rich at his hospital at Warwick: preaching at the chapel there, saith my author, very temperately, according to the promise made by him to the Archbishop. Which mildness of his some ascribed to his old age and more experience. But the latter end of the next year he deceased; outlived little above two months by the Archbishop, who yet was much his elder in years. And now at the end of Cart-

T. Cartwright yet alive. Fuller's Ch. Hist. B. X.

BOOK IV.

wright's life, to take our leave of him with a fairer character, it is remarkable what a noble and learned man writes of some of his last words, (which he spake to a sober person on his death-bed, and credibly reported to that gentleman from one in Warwick,) "that he seriously lamented the "unnecessary troubles he had caused in the Church, by the "schism he had been the great fomenter of: and wished "he was to begin his life again, that he might testify to the "world the dislike he had of his former ways." And in this opinion he died.

Anno 1601. His death. Sir H. Yelverton's Epist. to the Read. bef. Bishop Morton's Episcop. justified.

555

CHAP. XXIX.

Controversy between the Archbishop and the Mayor of Canterbury about licences to butchers in Lent. Lands of the late priory of Dover lying in Charleton, belonging to the Archbishop's see. The Archbishop visits All Souls college. The Queen dies. The manner of her sickness and death. The Archbishop and some other Bishops present with her, and assist at her last devotions. Some account thereof, related at St. Paul's the Sunday after her death. The Archbishop crowneth King James and Queen Anne.

Anno 1602. The Mayor of Canterbury encroaches upon the liberties of the see.

IN the beginning of the year 1602, the Archbishop was concerned in some private matter, relating to his own diocese and privilege. The Mayor of Canterbury had dealt not well with him, in disobeying him in some point or other uncertain, but it seems to me to be concerning the Archbishop's Steward's calling the butchers, licenced in Lent, before him, and requiring their bonds, according to the Archbishop's order to him, as was told before. This seems to have been a party cause between the citizens and that church. But the disobliging behaviour of the Mayor in so civil a message sent to him by the Archbishop, some of the citizens also siding with the Mayor, provoked his Grace in so high a measure, as I have not observed before in him at any time. And he thought not fit to let it pass, since

the privileges and liberties of his see were in some sort invaded. Which he would not see in the least defaced. Therefore with his own pen he wrote this sharp letter to his Steward in the beginning of the month of April. Anno 1602.

" That he might peradventure marvel, why, being thus " provoked by the contentious Mayor, he had not hitherto " writ to him [his Steward] nor to others in these causes. " To him, he said, he wrote not, because he took it to be " needless, being Steward of his liberties, and by virtue of " his office bound to see the same observed. Besides, that " he had not heard from him of any particulars, nor yet any " advice what were best for him to do. To others he wrote " not, especially to the Mayor, because he took himself so " indignantly used by him, as he disdained so far to grace " him: purposing fully to use the benefit of the law in such " sort, as peradventure that corporation should have cause " to repent their choice, and consent to his froward dealing " with him, [the Archbishop,] who, he added, never gave " any such cause to him or any other member of that city. " That it seemed they were wealthy: whereof, he said, he " was glad. Because he hoped they would make full satis- " faction of all such sums of money as had been commit- " ted unto them for the use of the poor: which hitherto " they had not employed accordingly. And so ending with " these short words, *Vale in Christo*. From Lambeth, the " 5th of April, 1602.

" Your loving friend,

" Jo. Cantuar."

The Archbishop displeased with him.

Another matter happened now that displeased the Archbishop: which was some injury done to his revenue, as the former occasion related to his liberties. The estate of the priory of Dover belonged to him; a part whereof was situate in the parish of Charleton in Kent. The rectory thereof the Parson had let out to his patron, Mr. Tho. Monings; which looked suspiciously. He, by force of such lease, had often, and very wrongfully, as the Archbishop

Encroachment upon the priory of Dover, now belonging to the see of Canterbury.

BOOK IV.

took it, troubled those that were farmers of parcel of the said late priory. Thereby going about with many lawsuits to recover to the said parsonage parcel of that which the Archbishop took to be parcel of the said late priory, then belonging to the see of Canterbury. For the prevention of which injury, and for the farmers' quiet holding of that part of the said priory, he had obtained from Mr. Wattes, the Parson, about a year ago, a promise that he would not hereafter let his said parsonage to the said Monings his patron: but now, notwithstanding his promise, had again let it to him. Whereupon the Archbishop sent to his Steward in the month of May this year, to require him, the said Wattes, to come before him: and to take order with him, that he do not hereafter demise the said parsonage, either to his said patron, or to any other that would suffer him to take the tithes of the said parsonage. And that if the said Wattes would not perform it, that then he [the Archbishop] would otherwise deal with him as he should deserve. This was dated from Lambhith, the 15th of May, 1602.

Anno 1602.

556

Things amiss in All Souls college, found upon a visitation.

Matters in All Souls college (whereof the Archbishop was visitor) were out of order again: whereof he had been informed by a late visitation by commission: as that divers of the Fellows entered not into holy Orders within the time assigned by their statute: and some were long absent from the college, and suspected to have been married; together with various other misdemeanors. Whereupon the Archbishop sent his letter to the Sub-Warden and Deans of the college, for the present rectifying of their enormities; other things being to be set in order afterwards; when the Dean of the Arches, his deputy in this visitation, should have leisure to proceed in his said visitation. The Archbishop's letter, minding to have the said disorders presently redressed, ran to this tenor:

Rectified by the Archbishop.

"After his hearty commendations. That although by "reason of the other employments of Mr. Dean of the "Arches, his deputy for the visitation of that college, he "could not so soon determine of such orders for reform-

" ation of abuses there (made known unto him by their de-
" tects) as he intended; yet for that, upon the perusing of
" them, he found informations given of some things that
" ought to be presently looked unto, their time of election
" approaching very shortly; he had thought good to write
" these his letters, that whereas warning had been given
" unto them, *viz.* Mr. Lloid, now Sub-Warden there, and
" Thomas Powes, M. A. about six months since, to pro-
" cure themselves to be ordered Ministers, and yet never-
" theless Mr. Warden had not yet required either of them
" to shew, whether they had obtained the same or no, be-
" cause of the dependancy of his [the Archbishop's] visit-
" ation: these were to require them, the Sub-Warden and
" the Dean of Arts, to call before him the said Thomas
" Powes, and to require him to shew forth his letters of Or-
" ders (if he had any) unto him; or in case he had not, or
" should refuse so to do, then to signify unto him, that he
" [the Archbishop] had declared and did hereby declare, his
" place of a Fellow in that house to be void, for not correct-
" ing himself according to the Archbishop's monition, or-
" derly given him by his deputy, Mr. Dean of the Arches.

" And concerning yourself, (as the Archbishop proceeded
" in his letter,) I require you presently, within one day after
" the Warden's return to the college, that you do likewise
" shew your letters of Orders unto him and the Dean of
" the Law; or otherwise I shall take order with him to pro-
" ceed also with you accordingly. And that whereas he
" [the Archbishop] was informed by the Warden, that he
" long since admonished John Rowliff, M. A. of that house,
" to procure himself to be ordered Minister within the time
" limited by statute; which he had utterly neglected to do;
" and for that he was to be forewarned indeed at such
" time as the others were warned by his deputy, if he had
" not been absent, and had ever since neglected to seek to
" be ordered, as he [the Archbishop] was given to under-
" stand: these were therefore to require him, the Sub-
" Warden, and him, the Dean of Arts, to call before them
" the said John Rowliff, and to require him to shew before

BOOK IV.

Anno 1602.

557

"them his letters of Orders: and that if he should refuse "so to do, or had none, then he [the Archbishop] did "hereby also declare and will them, see to publish and "signify unto him, that his place of a Fellow was void.

He added, "that he found also by the detects, that there "were divers others that should be warned to the ministry "which yet were not warned; therefore he did require them "to warn Rich. Astley and George Darrel, MM. A. of that "house, immediately upon the receipt hereof, and such "others of the house as they knew now ought by the statute "to be warned. And whereas there was one Nicolas Wood, "B. L. who had been long licensed to be absent from the col-"lege upon pretence of business about the executorship of "his father's will, against whom there was, as he [the Arch-"bishop] understood, a common suspicion that he was mar-"ried; if he were yet absent, he required them, the officers "there, that they gave him no longer time of absence. "And that if his time of licence were past, and that he "should not within thirty days, according to the statute, "come, and make proof of his necessary let for not re-"pairing to the college within the time of the licence; "that then they forthwith should pronounce his place to "be void also, according to their statute. And if he were "present, that they require him to purge himself of the "common suspicion of his marrying: and if he should re-"fuse by his own oath to clear the same, then he [the "Archbishop] did likewise declare, and so required them to "pronounce, his place likewise to be void."

Concluding with these words, "And these things I re-"quire you, the Sub-Warden and others the officers there, "to be performed presently upon the receipt hereof, with-"out any secret intimation given to the parties, or any "others, whereby they may shift and avoid this which I "have appointed to be done; and so bid you farewell. "From Lambeth the 19th of Octob. 1602.

"Your loving friend,

"Jo. Cant."

Nominates a Jurist in that college.

And in December following he nominated a Jurist in

the same college, upon difference among themselves: directing his letter to Robert Hovenden, S.T.P. Custos of the said college. Anno 1602.

Two Bishops were this year elected, confirmed, and consecrated; *viz.* Robert Bennet, S.T.P. his election confirmed for Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of Hereford, on Saturday, Feb. 19. And on Sunday next following he was consecrated at Lambeth by the Archbishop, assisted by Richard, Bishop of London; John, Bishop of Rochester; and Anthony, Bishop of Chichester. Bennet consecrated Bishop of Hereford:

And John Jegon, S.T.P. was confirmed and consecrated Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of Norwich, on the same days, at the same place, by the same Archbishop, the same Bishops assisting. And Jegon Bishop of Norwich.

There happened this year a particular case worthy relating, wherein the Archbishop vindicated a right of his see, as well as of other sees. And it was in rescuing a Clergyman, named Aldridg, that was lunatic. Who had been committed, by sentence of the Court of Wards and Liveries, to one Lilly, a layman. But the lunatic, being an ecclesiastical person, ought to have had a coadjutor appointed him by the Archbishop. The case was tried at the Court of Wards, the Archbishop appointing Mr. Bois, his counsel, to plead the cause, Mr. Lilly's counsel being one Mr. Wild. Divers precedents were produced of spiritual persons lunatic, or affected with some other diseases disabling them, that had guardians appointed them by the spiritual court, but none could be produced on the other side. The whole case was thought fit to be preserved in the Archbishop's register. Where it was made appear, that neither spiritual persons, nor their ecclesiastical livings, were under the jurisdiction of that court; but to be disposed of by ecclesiastical power; and that coadjutors and assistants had always been appointed, to supply the wants and defects of such persons. And the case of Pace, Dean of St. Paul's in King Henry VIIIth's time, was produced, who was *non compos mentis:* and had a coadjutor appointed him by the Bishop of London, as well for his person as his spiritual promotions; and The Archbishop interposes in the case of a Clergyman, lunatic. Regist. Whitg.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1602.

558

to yield account for the same. These and several other instances being brought before the court, at length they delivered their opinion, that they had no jurisdiction on spiritual persons that were lunatic. I have exemplified this process from the register, and reposited it in the Appendix.

N°. XLII.

Queen Elizabeth dies. MSS. D. Mich. Hicks, Eq. Aura.

The conclusion of this year, March the 24th, concluded the life and reign of the most incomparable Princess and Queen Elizabeth. An account of the manner of whose sickness and death, one uncertain (whether some one of the physicians about her, or some other, it is unknown) wrote the very day after, in a Latin epistle to one Edmund Lambert, in these words: *Regina, cum per tres ferè hebdomadas morbo melancholico stuporem quendam non sine læsæ phantasiæ indiciis inferente, laborásset, nec per totum id tempus, ullis vel rationibus, vel precibus, vel fallaciis induci potuisset, ut aliquod artis medicæ auxilium experiretur, ac difficulter persuaderi sibi passa sit, ut alimentum naturæ sustinendæ debitum sumeret; somnum autem quàm minimum, eumque non in lecto, sed inter pulvinaria, ubi totos dies, et insomnis et immota, sedere consueverat; intelligendi autem vim ad extremum usque spiritum retineret; linguæ verò facultate tribus ante obitum diebus fuisset privata; postquam est omnibus et felicissimæ principis et Christianissimæ fœminæ officiis functa, die hesterno, sc. 24. Martii, hora tertia matutina, naturæ cessit.*

The Archbishop about her in her last hours.

But I supply, as to her religious and Christian behaviour in her last sickness, what this writer is silent in. She had several of her learned and pious Bishops frequently about her, performing the last offices of religion with her, as particularly Watson, Bishop of Chichester, her Almoner, the Bishop of London, and chiefly the Archbishop: with whom in their prayers she very devoutly, both in her eyes, hands, and tongue, and with great fervency, joined. She cared not to have any other discourse, but with them, about her spiritual estate. And though she was impatient of any speeches of others with her, yet she was ever well pleased to hear the Archbishop and the Bishop of London give her comfort and counsel to prepare herself Godward: and most

Cott. Libr. Julius F. 6.

heartily and devoutly prayed continually with them, and making signs and shews to her last remembrance, of the sweet comfort she took in their presence and assistance, and of the unspeakable joy she was going unto. CHAP. XXIX. Anno 1602.

The very prayer that was made for her but the day before her death is preserved in our Archbishop's register: which makes it probable himself was the composer thereof. And because another Archbishop thought it worthy his own transcribing into a printed book of forms of prayer in Emanuel college, where himself was once the worthy Master, I shall enter it here, taken thence by an exact hand. Rev. T. Baker, B. D.

A prayer for Queen Elizabeth, March 23, 1602.

O most heavenly Father, and God of all mercy, we most humbly beseech thee to behold thy servant, our Queen, with the eyes of pity and compassion. Give unto her the comforts of thy Holy Spirit, work in her a constant and lively faith, grant unto her true repentance, and restore unto her, if it be thy will, her former health and strength both of body and soul. Let not the enemy, nor his wicked instruments, have any power over her to do her harm. O Lord, punish her not for our offences, neither us in her. Deal not with us, O Lord, as we have deserved; but for thy mercy's sake, and for thy Christ his sake, forgive us all our sins: and prolong her days, that we may still enjoy her to the glory of thy holy name, and joy of all such as truly fear thee, through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen. The Archbishop's prayer for the sick Queen. Regist. Whitg. vol. iii. p. 148.

Her death drawing near, the Archbishop exhorted her to fix her thoughts upon God, the better to draw off her mind from other secular things concerning her kingdom and successor, that some then of her Court propounded to her. To which good advice, to stay her at that hour, she answered him, she did so, nor did her mind wander from God. And as a sign thereof, when she could not speak, she was observed much to lift up her eyes and hands to heaven. Camb. Elizab.

We have this further passage of her religious belief, which she expressed when her Almoner waited upon her, to Professes the fervency of her

BOOK IV.

Anno 1602. faith to her Almoner.

assist her devotions; as it was related in the Paul's Cross sermon, preached by John Hayward, a known, wise, learned, and reverend Divine of the city of London, March the 27th, being the Lord's day next ensuing her death. Whose text
559 was taken out of the xxivth Psalm, ver. 1. *The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof*, &c. Perhaps taking those words for the subject of his discourse, that from thence he might comfort the people, that though they were left destitute of so excellent a Princess and good governor, yet the *earth was the Lord's*, and that he would provide graciously for his good and pious people that dwelt therein: and speaking of their late departed Queen, he shewed his auditors, "how her Almoner rehearsing to her the grounds of the "Christian faith, and requiring her assent unto them by "some sign, she readily gave it both with hand and eye: and "that when he proceeded to tell her, that it was not enough "generally to believe that those articles of faith were true, "but that every Christian man was to believe them true to "them, and that they themselves were members of the true "Church, and redeemed by Jesus Christ, and that their sins "were forgiven to them; she did again, with great shew of "faith, lift up her eyes and hands to heaven, and so stayed "them long, as a testimony she gave of applying the same "unto herself." This remarkable circumstance of the Queen's faith and devout behaviour on her death-bed was repeated again ten years after, in the same pulpit, at St. Paul's Cross, by Miles Moss, D. D. Pastor of Combes in the county of Suffolk, in a sermon there preached about *justifying faith*. But we return to our Archbishop.

The Archbishop crowns King James and the Queen.

And as the Archbishop had the honour thus to perform the last duties to Queen Elizabeth, so he had likewise to set the crown upon the head of King James, and Queen Anne his royal consort, at Westminster, on St. James's day, July 25, 1603, with all the royal ceremonies accompanying that solemnity, in an august presence of the nobility, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and many others of the gentry assembled.

CHAP. XXX.

The Archbishop sends Dr. Nevyll into Scotland, to wait upon the new King. His inquiry of the Archbishop of the state of religion and the Clergy. The Archbishop writes to the Bishops hereupon, for special reason. The King inquires after recusants. Upon the Privy Council's letter, the Archbishop sends order to the Bishops for keeping the 5th of August, the day of the King's deliverance from an assassination. And upon the King's letters he writes to them for a collection to be made for Geneva, besieged by the Duke of Savoy. How well that city had deserved for maintaining the Gospel.

WHEN King James was first advanced to the crown of England, and to become supreme governor, under Christ, of this Church as well as State, the Archbishop, in his own name, and of all the Bishops and Clergy, sent Dr. Nevyl, the Dean of his church of Canterbury, into Scotland, to his Majesty, to give him the assurance of their unfeigned duty and loyalty; and to know what commands he had for them to observe concerning ecclesiastical causes: recommending also the Church of England to his favour and protection. To which message he gave a very gracious answer, and that he would uphold the government of the late Queen as she left it. Which, when the Dean returned, and gave the Archbishop an account of, gave him great comfort and satisfaction. For indeed he and some of the Bishops, particularly the Bishop of London, feared much, that when this King came to reign in this realm, he would favour the *new discipline*, and make alterations in the ecclesiastical government and Liturgy: and this had made them speak sometimes uneasily of the *Scotch mist*, which Hugh Broughton would now and then throw in the Archbishop's teeth, when he was displeased with him.

Anno 1603. The Archbishop sends Dr. Nevyl to the King in Scotland.

560

As soon as the King came into these parts, we may conclude, the Archbishop waited upon him, and held some serious discourse with him about the affairs of the Church.

The Archbishop sends to the Bishops, to

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603. know the state of religion and the Clergy.

And it appears, it was his desire to know in what state the Church at that present stood; as to Papists, the number of Ministers and Preachers, their maintenance, and the values of their livings; in order to augment such as were not of sufficient competency: whose case the Archbishop seemed chiefly to recommend unto the King. As the effect of this communication, he wrote his circular letters, in the month of June, to all the Bishops of his province, to be informed by them of the number of communicants throughout all their dioceses; and what number there was of recusants: also, the names of all such as held two benefices; the number of impropriations in every diocese, and how they were served; what parsonages that had vicarages belonging to them, and the values; who the patrons were of the several livings. The tenor of his letter was as follows:

The Archbishop's letter to the Bishops. Regist. Whitg.

"After his hearty commendation to his Lordship. That "he thought good, upon some special occasions him there- "unto moving, to pray and desire him, that presently after "receipt hereof, that he would send letters, as well to all "his Archdeacons, as to all several Commissaries within his "diocese; willing and requiring them, in his [the Archbi- "shop's] name, to send for every Parson, Vicar, and Curate, "within their said several jurisdictions; and, as secretly "and particularly as they could, to receive of them in "writing their several answers to every of these points "following. And that the Archdeacons and Commissaries, "so soon as they should have received the said answers "in writing from the several Ministers, should presently "transmit them in authentic form unto him, [the Bishop,] "to be presently sent from his Lordship to him [the Arch- "bishop.]

Matters to advertise him of.

"And that herein he must put his Lordship in remem- "brance, that he [the Bishop] had need to give some touch "unto his Archdeacons and other Commissaries, that if "they thought how much these things, that he [the Arch- "bishop] desired to be informed in, might concern their "several jurisdictions, they would have more care particu- "larly to inform themselves, by all means, of every such

" matter required of them, and speedily return certificate " of them.

" The matters he now desired to be advertised of, with Anno 1603. " all convenient speed, were these. I. The certain number " of those that did receive the Communion in every parish. " II. The certain number of every man-recusant, inhabiting " in every parish within their several jurisdictions, with- " out specifying their particular names: and likewise the " certain number of every woman-recusant, distinct from " the man in manner afore. III. The like inquiry to be ob- " served also, as well what the certain number was of every " man as afore, who did not receive the Communion; as " also the certain number of every woman, in each several " parish therein, who did not receive the Communion, with- " out certifying their names. IV. The particular name of " every double-beneficed man in his diocese, which held " two benefices with cure; his degree of school and quali- " fication; the names of the several benefices with cure " which he held; how many miles distant each of the bene- " fices which he held was from the other; and, as near as " he could, the valuation of them in the King's books. V. " How many several impropriations there were within their " dioceses: whether they were endowed with vicarages, or " served by Curates. If with vicarages, what every of those " several vicarages were valued at, so near as he could in- " form himself, in the King's books. If by Curates, what " the ordinary stipend was that the proprietor paid for the " maintenance of the Curate. VI. The name of every par- " sonage within his diocese which was endowed with a " vicarage: what the said parsonage was valued in the " King's books; and what the vicarage was valued in the " King's books; and what the vicarage is valued at. VII. " Who was patron to every several benefice in his diocese, 561 " so near as his records of institution could give direction.

" And thus praying his Lordship to be very careful in " the premises, he committed him to the protection of Al- " mighty God. Dated from Lambehith, the last of June, " 1603. Subscribing,

" Your Lordship's loving brother in Christ."

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603. The King especially inquires after recusants.

That these things ran much in the King's mind, especially concerning the first article, *viz.* recusants, and such as did not communicate, appears by the conference at Hampton Court in the following winter. When the King required of the Bishops, among other things, that they should take notice of such as were recusant-communicants. For there were, he said, three sorts of Papists: some came to sermon, but not to service and prayer; some that came to both, but not to the Communion; and a third abstained from them all. And therefore he commanded them that inquiry might be made of all those of the first, second, and third rank: and that the weak were to be informed, and the wilful to be punished. And for such as were Papists, he was, he said, but half a king to them; being lord over their bodies, but their souls were seduced by Popery. And that where there was not true religion, there could be no continued obedience.

The Council to the Archbishop, to keep the day of the King's deliverance.

A message from the Lords the next month, especially relating to the King, occasioned another letter to be sent by the Archbishop to the Bishops of his province. It was for the celebrating the 5th of August ensuing, with thanksgiving, throughout the kingdom: which day, anno 1600, he had received a great deliverance from a treasonable assassination in Scotland by Alexander Ruthen, brother to John Earl Gowry, at St. Johnston's, Gowry's seat. The relation whereof I refer to the King's life. The benefit whereof redounded to this realm, in the good providence of God reserving him for a blessing to the English nation. The tenor of the Privy Council's letter to the Archbishop was, "That as it had pleased God many ways to bless our "Sovereign Lord the King, before his coming to this king-"dom, and when he was possessed only of the realm of "Scotland, whereby it appeared that the Divine provi-"dence reserved him for the happy government of this "State; and, as it was not to be doubted, for the perpetual "establishment of peace and tranquillity among us; so, "forasmuch as by his succession to this crown they were "now made partakers of the same blessings, and of the "benefits thereof, providing equally with the subjects of

" the Scottish nation; it was very meet, that, in equal de-
" gree and measure with them, they [of the English na-
" tion] should in all respects shew their gladness, and
" thankful acknowledgment of God's goodness, and their
" love to his Majesty.

" That among which blessings, there could not be any of
" greater note, or of more happiness unto them, than the
" preservation and delivery of his Majesty from the trai-
" torous and detestable attempts of the Earl of Gowry's
" brother, and other complices, against his Majesty's life
" and person. For which inestimable benefits, forasmuch
" as his Majesty's said subjects of Scotland had declared,
" and did still continue, their joy and thankfulness, by so-
" lemnizing and celebrating the day of his Majesty's said
" delivery; and for that cause, by a special act and per-
" petual statute made by the three estates of that kingdom,
" (in a Parliament holden at Edinburgh in the month of
" November 1600,) had ordained, that the memory of the
" said day, being the 5th day of August the year afore-
" said, should be yearly solemnized by public assembly,
" prayer, and thanksgiving to God, in all parish churches
" throughout the realm, by cessation from work and la-
" bour; and by all good and lawful means, and signs of
" gladness; whereby God might be glorified, and the joy
" for so happy a delivery continued in the memory of all
" posterity. And sithence this special cause of joy was
" now become common to all the subjects of this realm,
" and of the rest of his Majesty's dominions, who had
" been deprived of the present comfort, and of all future
" happiness conceived and hoped for by the establishment
" of his Majesty's sacred person in the right of this king- 562
" dom, if God in his mercy had not prevented that most
" wicked and horrible mischief.

" They therefore, [the Lords of the Privy Council,] unto
" whom, as the said cause of joy and gladness jointly with
" the rest of his Majesty's subjects, so the direction for a
" certain rule and order therein to be observed, did more
" properly appertain, not doubting but he, [the Archbi-

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

" shop,] and all others his Majesty's loving subjects, " would readily apprehend this occasion to acknowledge " their own happiness; did pray and require his Lord- " ship, to cause to be published and made known, in the " parish churches throughout all the dioceses in his pro- " vince, the same occasion of joy and thankfulness for his " Majesty's delivery; the order and course that was taken " heretofore, and was continued by his subjects of the " Scottish nation, as was aforementioned: and in like sort " to prescribe the same rule and other, of solemnizing and " celebrating yearly the day aforesaid, of God's mercy and " our happiness in the preservation of his Majesty, by " public assembly, thanksgiving, and prayer, in the parish " churches, and in special commemoration of his Majesty's " safe delivery, by cessation from work and labour for that " day, and by such other signs and demonstrations of joy " and gladness for the same, as might declare their thank- " fulness to God, and dutiful love to his Majesty.

" The form and manner of which thanksgiving, how it " might be best conceived and delivered publicly in the " churches, they [the Lords] referred to his Lordship's " [the Archbishop's] judgment and wisdom. And so they " bade his Lordship right heartily well to fare. From the " Court at Windsor, the 12th of July, 1603. Subscribed,

" Your Lordship's loving friends,

" Tho. Egerton. Lenox. Nottingham. Northumberland.
" Gilb. Shrewsbury. E. Worcester. Marr. T. Howard.
" Hooward. Rob. Cecil. Montjoye. Wm. Knowles.
" E. Wotton. J. Stanhope. Elphinstone."

In pursuance of which injunction, the next day after the receiving thereof, the Archbishop sent this letter to the Bishop of London, to communicate the contents to the rest of the Bishops, for the celebration of the 5th day of August for the King, *viz.*

The Archbishop's letter for the observation

" *Salutem in Christo.* Yesterday night I received let- " ters from the Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council, the " copy whereof I send inclosed to your Lordship, praying

" and requiring you, according to the accustomed manner " in such cases, to cause the contents thereof to be made " known to the rest of the Bishops within this province, " whereof divers are now remaining in and about London, " touching the manner of celebrating that day, I would be " glad to have conference with your Lordship, and some " others, the Bishops, now present. But in the mean " time, and for the speedier despatch of your letters, I " think it fit, that some order be observed in this action " as was used upon the 17th of November in our late So- " vereign's time; with special charge, that in every parti- " cular church there be a sermon and service, with a de- " claration of the great blessing of God for his Majesty's " deliverance from that danger, with hearty prayer to God " for the continuance of his goodness towards him and us; " and to the like effect. And so not doubting but that " you will perform this duty with all convenient speed, I " commit you to the tuition of Almighty God. From " Croyden, the 14th of July, 1603.

Anno 1603. of the 5th of August. Regist. Whitg.

" Your Lordship's loving friend and brother,

" Jo. Cantuar."

The King to the Archbishop for a collection for Geneva.

Another occasion was now given to the Archbishop of sending his letters to the Bishops of his province. Which was for succour to be sent to the city of Geneva; as upon former solicitations in Queen Elizabeth's reign had been done by this Church to that state. The Duke of Savoy, who had several times endeavoured the subduing of that place to himself, had the last year, contrary to his oath, surprised it, by besieging it suddenly, and scaling the walls thereof, though without success: pretending the great reason moving him thereunto was the cause of religion; *viz.* to establish the Catholic religion there. Agents from that city came now into England, and making the King acquainted with their miserable condition, and the great danger they were in, both of their liberty and of their religion reformed, earnestly petitioned for some contribution from this Protestant realm, to enable them to

563

Hist. of Geneva. by Isaac Spon.

BOOK IV.

continue to maintain their state against the powerful assaults made upon them. The King gave them a gracious hearing, and resolved to promote a collection for them among all his subjects: he considered them as deserving well of the common cause of religion; and how that city was of famous memory for the zeal it ever had to religion, and for harbouring many voluntary exiles, as had fled there for that cause, and particularly those of the English nation. And therefore, in behalf of people so well affected, he directed collections of charity to be made weekly on Sundays, and also on holydays, whensoever the people met together in their religious assemblies: and this to last for a year. And the monies so collected to be returned to the Bishops monthly, and sent up to the Archbishop from the Bishops respectively every three months. Such a regard was then had to the Church of Geneva. But behold his Majesty's letter to the Archbishop, written in October from Winchester:

Anno 1603.

The Bishop's letter.

"Most reverend Father in God, and right trusty and "right well beloved Counsellor, we greet you well. The "city of Geneva, of famous memory for the zeal the in- "habitants have ever had to religion, and for harbouring "of many persecuted for the same, as well of other na- "tions as of this of England in time past, hath of late "been put to greater charges, by extraordinary occasions "happening to them, than they are able to defray, and "cannot preserve themselves from some imminent dan- "ger, except they be relieved by those their friends, who, "for community of religion, ought to hold the dangers "threatening of people so well affected, to be their own "case. Of which sort, hoping there be in this our realm "a great number, who (being informed of their case, and "of our good-will that they should be relieved) will rea- "dily contribute towards the same such benevolence as "God shall put in their hearts to do: we have thought "good to signify unto you, that we understand by their "agents sent unto us of their extremity, and how willing

" we are, by way of benevolence, that they may be relieved, and to require you to direct your letters in our " name to the several Bishops of your province, signifying " the same to them: and that our pleasure is, they shall " give order to the Parsons, Vicars, Curates, and other incumbents of the several parishes in their dioceses, to " make known so much to their parishioners at their assemblies on Sundays and holydays; and how much it " shall be to the commendation of their zeal, and our good " liking, that in this cause they shew themselves liberal " and forward: and to accompany the same with such " good exhortations, as they shall think meet to excite " the people's devotions to extend itself toward a city deserving so well of the common cause of religion.

" And for the receipt of such monies as shall be contributed, the said Bishops shall appoint the Churchwardens and Sidemen of every parish, with the privity " of the incumbent, to take care thereof. And at every " month's end to deliver the same to the Archdeacon, or " some other person of note or trust, by the Diocesan to " be appointed; who shall see the same safely conveyed " unto him: and from the said Diocesan the same to be " conveyed to your Grace within some reasonable time, to " be by you appointed, after he shall have received it. " And when the money, or any part thereof, shall be sent " to your hands, you shall acquaint us or our Council with " it; and by their advice deliver it to the agents of Geneva, or such other as they shall appoint to receive it " here, and make it over to them, &c. The said collection " was thought meet to begin within one month after the " date of these, and continue for the space of one year. 564 " Given under our signet, at our city of Winchester, the " 8th of October, in the first year of our reign, and of " Scotland the thirty-seventh."

The Archbishop to the Bishops for collections to be made ac-

This royal letter the Archbishop exemplified in his letters to the rest of the Bishops; and added, " that the contents thereof he doubted not but that they would perform accordingly; the intent and purpose, he said, being

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603. cordingly. Regist. Whitg.

" so charitable and Christian; and for relief of a city which " maintained the Gospel, and that for professing thereof " endured these troubles. And that for this collection their " Lordships were to give order to their Archdeacons, and " other their officers; who were by his Majesty's letters to " receive the same monthly of the Churchwardens. And " they to send it to them [the Bishops] within such con- " venient time, as that he [the Archbishop] might receive " it at their Lordships' hands at the end of every third " month from the date hereof. Provided always that there " be no deductions of charges made by any their officers " or Apparitors out of any of these collections. And so " with his hearty commendations he committed them to " the protection of the Almighty. From Croyden the 26th " of October, 1603. Subscribing,

" Your very loving brother in Christ,

" Jo. Cant."

CHAP. XXXI.

The Puritans' diligence with the new King by books and petitions. All answered. Henry Jacob's book. The Archbishop's endeavours with King James, in favour of the Church of England. The King's letters to him. These things produce a solemn conference before the King. His proclamation for the same. The Archbishop of York to the Archbishop hereupon. An account of what the Archbishop said at the conference. Letter of the Bishop of Durham to the Archbishop of York after the conference. The King's private letter concerning it. A note of such things as were to be reformed by his order upon this conference.

The great hopes of the Disciplinarians upon the coming in of King James.

UPON the access of King James to the throne of this realm, the Puritans were exceeding busy; raising in themselves fresh hopes of some countenance, if not establishment of their new discipline; though they could not obtain their ends from the late Queen deceased. They

wrote new books; they laboured all they could to get fit men for their turn to serve as members in a Parliament, ere long to be called: and by messages, and interests, and petitions, hoped to influence the King himself both before and when he first set his foot in England. And of this the aged Archbishop became so apprehensive, that it was said, he prayed to God he might not live to see the next Parliament. Indeed (if he did so) he had his wish; for he died the month before they came together. But things succeeded better. Anno 1603.

A book comes forth in favour of the Puritans.

One book of this nature came forth anno 1602, (as it were a preparation for this time,) entitled, *The Plea of the Innocent*, wherein is averred, "that the Ministers and "people, falsely termed *Puritans*, are injuriously slandered "for enemies or troublers of the State. Published for the 565 "common good of the Church and Commonwealth of the "realm of England: as a countermure against all sycophantizing Papists, statizing Priests, naturalizing atheists, and satanizing scorners of all godliness, truth, and "honesty. Written by Josias Nichols, a faithful Minister "of Jesus Christ, and an humble servant of the English "Church." In the first chapter of this book is shewed, that they be not Puritans indeed who now in England be so called. And in the second, that that name is very fit and proper for all Papists, &c.

The petition to the King subscribed by a thousand: and they

One long petition there was presented to the King in the month of April, called *The humble Petition of the thousand Ministers:* because it was said to be subscribed by so many: though they were some hundreds short. In this petition they desired, "that the *offences* in the Church, "some might be removed, some amended, and some qualified. Namely, first, In the *Church service*, the *cross* in I. "Baptism, *interrogatories* ministered to infants; *confirmations*, as superfluous, to be taken away: Baptism not to "be ministered by women; and so explained: the cap and "surplice not urged: that examination might go before the "Communion: that it might be ministered with a sermon: "that divers terms, *viz.* of *Priests*, and *absolution*, and

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

" some other used, with the ring in marriage, and other " such like in the book, might be corrected: the longsome- " ness of suits abridged: Church songs and music moderat- " ed to better edification: that the Lord's day might not be " profaned: the rest upon holydays not so strictly urged: " that there might be an uniformity of doctrine prescribed: " no popish opinions to be any more taught or defended: " no Ministers charged to teach their people to bow at the " name of Jesus: that the Canonical Scriptures be only

II. " read in the Church. Secondly, Concerning *Ministers:* " that none hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able " and sufficient men; and those to preach diligently; and " especially upon the Lord's day: and that such as were " already entered, and could not preach, might either be " removed, and some charitable course taken with them for " their relief; or else to be forced, according to the value " of their livings, to maintain preachers: that nonresidence

III. " be not permitted, &c. Thirdly, For *Church livings* and " maintenance: that Bishops might leave their *commen-* " *dams*, some holding prebends, some parsonages, some vi- " carages with their bishoprics: double beneficed men not " to be suffered to hold some two, some three benefices " with cure: and some two, three, or four dignities besides,

IV. " &c. Fourthly, For *Church discipline:* that the discipline " and excommunication might be administered, according " to Christ's own institution; or at least, that enormities " might be redressed; as namely, that excommunication " come not forth under the name of Lay-persons, Chancel- " lors, Officials, &c."

Require a conference.

And then these petitioners added, that these with other abuses yet remaining and practised in the Church of England, they were able to shew not to be agreeable to the Scriptures, if it should please his Highness for to hear them; or more at large by writing to be informed, or by conference among the learned to be resolved. Hence it is evident that this petition gave the occasion to the King to appoint the *conference* hereafter to be related: where may be seen their abilities and their proofs, how far they made

good this their offer. They subscribed themselves, "His "Majesty's most humble subjects, the Ministers of the "Gospel, that desired not a disorderly innovation, but a due "and godly reformation."

They studiously disperse their petition.

Soon after, copies of this petition were sent forth into all quarters of the realm, with false suggestions; as if the King had lent this their motion a favourable ear, and given it some kind of consenting entertainment; and as though in all this they had done nothing, whereunto they were not animated and encouraged by some of special credit with his Highness. But by this course (as some then observed) they had altered the name of the foresaid schedule, and, of an entitled petition to his Majesty, had made it a covert kind of libel: whereby securely, as they thought, they might deprave and slander not only the Communion Book, 566 but the whole estate of the Church as it stood reformed by the late Sovereign.

Divers others in divers parts of the kingdom presumed to trouble his Majesty, (as he was in his progress this summer,) and tax the State with the like clamorous libels and defamatory supplications.

H. Jacob dedicates a book for reformation to the King.

Among the rest came forth a treatise to back the petition, written by one Henry Jacob, (who was a principal agent and a special procurator in the petition,) entitled, *Reasons taken out of God's Word and the best human Testimonies, proving a Necessity of reforming our Churches in England;* framed and applied to four assertions, wherein the foresaid purpose was contained. Printed [not said where] 1604. The first was, That it was necessary to reform the Churches of England; their ministry and ceremonies. The second, That for the space of two hundred years after Christ, the visible Churches, using government, were not diocesan Churches, but particular ordinary congregations only. And the Bishops, as they were peculiarly called after the Apostles, were only parishional, not diocesan Bishops. The third assertion was, That the Scriptures of the New Testament did contain and set forth unto us, (besides the government by Christ's officers, Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists,)

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

an ordinary form of Church government used then. The fourth was, That the ordinary form of Church government set forth unto us was not changeable by men: and therefore that only was lawful. This his book he dedicated to the high and mighty Prince James by the grace of God, of England, &c. Beginning, "That in most humble wise "his Majesty's loyal and devoted subjects, who for the "safety of their souls desired the reformation of their "Churches according to God's word, cast themselves down "in the true affection of their hearts before his royal pre-"sence, whom they acknowledged to be the noblest pillar "of the Gospel, and the greatest hope for the propagation "and establishing thereof, that was in all Christendom:" [thinking perhaps to move him much by these flattering compliments:] "beseeching him to extend his kingly aid "and furtherance unto them in their foresaid necessary and "just desire, [respecting the millenary petition,] with pro-"tection also towards their innocency against the oppres-"sion of their adversaries in this cause, &c. And that they "had it from his Majesty very oft, that whatsoever things in "their Churches they could shew to be contrary to God's "word, they should by his gracious means be removed. "And that whatsoever yet out of use with us might ap-"pear by God's word to be necessary should be establish-"ed." And thereupon he prayed, "May it please your "gracious Majesty, let this word stand. We crave, we "desire nothing more."

Dr. Covel answereth the Plea.

But by the Archbishop's vigilancy and advice, not a petition, pamphlet, or book escaped without a speedy and effectual answer. First, *The Plea for the Innocent, by Jos. Nicholls*, Will. Covel, D. D. took into his consideration, in a book which he entitled, *A modest andreasonable Examination of some things in the Church of England*, &c. That Plea, said that author, was undoubtedly to renew an unnatural contention that was almost buried; and at that time especially, when all proceedings in the Church were without rigour: and so could not choose but be labour ill spent, &c. And asking leave to give his opinion of the whole

book; it was, he said, but a verbal reiterating of the same things, handled and discoursed by some of those with whom by some relation he had much nearness. And so his labour might well have been spared; since others with far better success had travailed in the same cause. Dr. Covel prepared a dedication of his book to the Archbishop; but he dying before it was published, he dedicated it to Bancroft, Bishop of London. But his intended dedication notwithstanding he printed, and placed at the end of his book: therein mentioning the great benefit this Church had received by his Grace's means, in his defence of the government of it; his great wisdom and moderation, and his enduring the rage of that unbridled multitude, [of the new reformers,] and his prevention of disorder and barbarism, justly feared long since to have possessed all.

Anno 1603. Fenner Philips.

As for the petition, both Universities presently disclaimed it openly. That of Cambridge by passing a grace in their public Congregation, June the 9th, *viz. Placet vobis, ut quicunque doctrinam vel disciplinam Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, vel ejus partem aliquam, dictis aut scriptis, aut quocunque alio modo in Academia Cantabrigiensi, publicè oppugnaverint; ab omni suscepto gradu suspendatur, et a suscipiendo excludatur ipso facto.* "That whosoever in "that University should openly oppose, by word or writing, "or any other way, the doctrine or discipline of the Church "of England, or any part thereof, should be suspended from "any degree taken, or from any degree to be taken, to be "excluded *ipso facto*." And the other University, *viz.* that of Oxford, writ and published in the same year an apology for the Church of England, in vindication of it against that petition of the Ministers, (desiring reformation of certain ceremonies and abuses,) which was entitled, *An Answer of the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, and other the Heads of Houses in the University of Oxford.* Printed there. And to this work, they said, they were the rather invited by the commendable example of their reverend brethren of the University of Cambridge, by their aforesaid grace. And this University by a letter assured that of

567 Both the Universities disclaim the petition.

Answer of the Vice-Chancellor, Doctors, Proctors, &c. of Oxford. Printed 1603.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

Oxford, "that both they themselves, and (as they conceived) many thousands more of the judicious and obedient Ministers of this land, were ready to give them the right hand of fellowship in this work, namely, their Apology, (as they called this their answer to the Puritans' petition,) and would willingly subscribe unto the same, if the cause did require it, or the time would permit."

The University of Cambridge join with those of Oxford.

This answer to be presented to the King by some of the Lords of the Council.

This Apology, or Answer of the University of Oxford, was dedicated to the Archbishop, the Lord Treasurer Buckhurst, Chancellor of that University, and Sir Rob. Cecil, Lord Essingdon, Principal Secretary, and Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Lords of his Majesty's Privy Council. Whom they prayed to inform his Majesty with this their apology and judgment: "humbly beseeching his "most excellent Majesty, that it might be considered how "inconvenient and insufferable it was, in Christian policy, "to permit a long and well settled state of government to "be so much as questioned, much more to be altered for a "few of his subjects; especially considering the matter "pretended to be the cause of these men's grief, and of "their desired reformation, unjustly so called. For it was "either the ceremonies of the Church, or abuses in the "Church, as they alleged. Wherein they humbly recommended to his princely remembrance, &c. And then they "proceeded in their vindication of each particular practice "of the Church objected against."

The Archbishop's diligence to preserve the Church.

The Archbishop, for his part, passed this summer pensively, in his regard for the continuance of the Church in that state wherein hitherto he had taken such pains to preserve it. And how diligent he was with the Court by his letters and messages, while the King was at a distance from London, or in his progress most part of the year, and so could not repair to him in person; and what success he had with his Majesty appearing by a letter from his royal hand, assuring him of his standing by the Church of England, the Archbishop communicated to the Earl of Shrewsbury, in a letter dated in December from Croydon: which I shall here give a short account of, having received an exact transcript

thereof from the original in the possession of a reverend Dean, who very humanely imparted it to me. Wherein may be observed, what thoughts that most reverend Father had of the danger of these contentious brethren, styling them *vipers*. He also urged that nobleman's presence in Parliament, who seemed to fear he should not be able, by reason of his gout, to come up; concerning which the Archbishop had an opinion (as he hinted to the said Earl) that such a disease was often pleaded, when men had a mind to stay at home. "He hinted to him the many petitions and motions "that that faction had made, correspondent to their na- "tures. But that his Lordship might perceive by the pro- "clamation *viz.* [that lately came forth for a conference "that the King was minded to have between some episco- "pal and some of the chiefest of the dissenting Divines, "about the controverted matters of the Church,] that they "had not much prevailed: besides the comfort he himself "had received from certain letters of his Majesty to him. 568 "That he indeed, by reason of the dangers of the days and "infectious times, and his own years, had not been at "Court since the King went from Hampton; yet that he "had heard from thence, and had sent thither, according "as he used to do: adding, that the Earl might easily ima- "gine, that he had not been idle, nor greatly quiet in mind: "and that (thanking God) he went forward as he was wont "to do; although he was then somewhat affected with the "jaundice, his old disease." He intimated likewise to the said nobleman, letters that he had sent to the corporation of Grimesby, the place of his birth, according as the Earl had desired him, very probably recommending fit and honest men to their choice for Burgesses. But this whole letter deserves to be preserved among the rest of the records.

CHAP. XXXI.

Anno 1603.

Rev. Wh. Kennet, Decan. Petriburgh.

His letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury to that purpose.

N°. XLIII.

The King's proclamation for a conference of the Clergy, which the Archbishop mentioned in his letter aforesaid to the Earl, was dated in October, the King being at my Lord Pembroke's at Wilton, and from whence the Archbishop gathered the good inclination of the King to the Church established. This I now come to take notice of, especially

The King appoints a meeting, in order to determine things amiss in the Church.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

so famous a disputation and examination into the customs and practices of this Church depending thereupon, and a learned and royal head, moderator and judge thereof, before an august presence of the Lords of the Privy Council. Whence likewise may be learned the King's judgment of the constitution of this Church; the many informations brought to him against it; and the manner thereof, which he liked not: that this meeting was appointed by him for his fuller and more perfect instruction concerning it; his intention to reform whatsoever he found amiss in it; and the reason why, having at first appointed the said meeting on the 1st of November, he put it off till after Christmas, and other things very well worthy the knowing by such as are studious of our ecclesiastical history. This proclamation ("touching a meeting for the hearing and for the determining things pretended to be amiss in the Church") ran to this tenor:

The proclamation for it.

"That as he had ever from his infancy manifold proofs "of God's great goodness towards him, in his protecting of "him from many dangers of his person very nearly threatening him; and none more notorious than his happy "conducting of him in the late case of his succession to "this crown; which, contrary to most men's expectations, "he had received with more quiet and concurrency of good-"will of his people, (otherwise perhaps of different disposi-"tions,) than ever in like accident had been seen; so he "thought that the memory of God's benefits ought to be a "continual solicitation to him, to shew himself thankful to "his divine Majesty, whereinsoever opportunity offered to "him to do him service; but especially in things concerning his honour and service, and the furtherance of his "Gospel: which was the duty most beseeming royal authority.

"That therefore after his entry into this kingdom, when "he had received information of the state thereof at the "decease of the Queen, his sister, of famous memory, although he found the whole body thereof in general, by "the wisdom of herself, and care of those who had the ad-

" ministration thereof under her, in such good state of
" health, as did greatly commend their wisdoms, as well in
" the political part of it, as also in the ecclesiastical, where-
" of since he had understood the form and frame, he was
" persuaded that both the constitution and doctrine there-
" of was agreeable to God's word, and near to the condi-
" tion of the primitive Church. Yet, forasmuch as experi-
" ence did shew daily, that the Church militant was never
" so well constituted in any form of policy, but the imper-
" fections of men who had the exercise thereof did with
" time, though insensibly, bring in some corruptions: and
" also, for that informations were daily brought unto him
" by divers, that some things used in this Church were
" both scandalous to many seeming zealous, and gave ad-
" vantage to the adversaries; he conceived, that no sub-
" ject could be so fit for him to shew his thankfulness to
" God, as, upon serious examination of the state of this
" Church, to redeem it from such scandals, as, both by one
" and the other, were laid upon it.

" That for his instruction herein he had appointed a
" meeting to be had before himself and his Council, of
" divers of the Bishops and other learned men, the first 569
" day of the next month, [*viz.* Novemb. 1.] by whose in-
" formation and advice he might govern his proceedings
" therein, if he found cause of amendment. But by reason
" of the sickness reigning in many places of the kingdom,
" the unseasonable time of the year for travel, and the in-
" commodity of the place of his abode for such an as-
" sembly, he was constrained to defer it till after Christ-
" mas. At which consultation he should both more par-
" ticularly understand the state of the Church; and re-
" ceive thereby light to judge, whether there were indeed
" any such enormities as were pretended; and know how
" to proceed to the redress.

" But that this his godly purpose he found had been
" misconstrued by some men's spirits; whose heat tended
" rather to combustion than reformation: as appeared by
" the course they had taken; some using public invectives

BOOK IV. Anno 1603.

" against the state ecclesiastical here established; some " contemning their authority, and the processes of their " courts; some gathering subscriptions of multitudes of " vulgar persons to frame supplications to be exhibited to " us, to crave that reformation; which if there were cause " to make, was more in his heart than theirs. That all " which courses, it was apparent to all men, were unlaw- " ful, and did savour of tumult, sedition, and violence; " and not of such a Christian modesty as beseemed those " who, for piety sake only, desired redress of things they " thought to be amiss; and could not but be the occasions " of dissensions, partialities, and perhaps of greater incon- " veniences among his people.

" That for the preventing whereof, he had thought it " necessary to make declaration to all his subjects, that as " he had reason to think the estate of the Church here " established, and the degrees and orders of Ministers go- " verning the same, to be agreeable to the word of God, " and the form of the primitive Church; having found the " same blessed, in the reign of the late Queen, with a " great increase of the Gospel, and with a most happy and " long peace in the political state; which two things, the " true service of God, and the happiness of the state, did " commonly concur together: so he was not ignorant that " time might have brought in some corruptions which " might deserve a review and amendment. Which if by " the assembly intended by him he should find to be so " indeed, he would therein proceed according to the laws " and customs of this realm, by advice of his Council, or " in his High Court of Parliament, or by the Convocation " of his Clergy, as he should find reason to lead him. " Not doubting, but that, in such an orderly proceeding, " he should have the Prelates, and others of the Clergy, " no less willing, and far more able, to afford him their " duty and service, than any other, whose zeal went so far " beyond their discretion.

" Upon which his princely care his pleasure was, that " all his subjects should repose themselves, and leave to

" his conscience that which to him only appertained; " avoiding all unlawful and factious manner of proceeding. " For that hereafter, if any should, either by gathering the " subscription of multitudes to supplications, by con- " temptuous behaviour to any authority, (by the laws " resting in ecclesiastical persons,) by open invectives " and indecent speeches, either in the pulpit or otherwise, " or by disobedience to the processes proceeding from " their jurisdiction, give him cause to think that he had " a more unquiet spirit than became any private person " to have towards public authority; he would make it " appear by their chastisement, how far such a manner of " proceeding was displeasing unto him: and that he found " that these reformers, under pretended zeal, affected no- " velty, and so confusion in all estates. Whereas his pur- " pose and resolution ever was, and so still was, to pre- " serve the estate, as well ecclesiastical as politic, in such " form as he had found it established by the laws here; " reforming only the abuses which he should find appa- " rently proved. And that also to do by such mature ad- " vice and deliberation, as he had above mentioned. Where- " fore he admonished all men hereafter to take warning, as " they would answer to the contrary at their peril. Given " under his hand at Wilton, the 24th day of October, " 1603."

Thus how well prepared for this conference the wise 570
King was, we see by the knowledge he had already gained of the sound doctrine and good constitution of this Church: the form and frame whereof he saw to be agreeable to God's word, and to come near to the primitive Church; and by the observations he had so soon made of the heats of the complainers, tending rather to combustion than reformation, (which they so much called for,) and their scurrilous way of writing and inveighing against the state ecclesiastical, and their manner of gathering a multitude of hands subscribed to their petitions, which he saw savoured of tumult and sedition. By these and many other passages in this notable proclamation, (as of his counte-

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

nancing Convocations, the laws and customs of the realm, and his declaring that he would proceed according thereunto, in any amendments fit to be made,) I make little doubt there was a considerable hand of the Archbishop and his counsel herein.

Questions in order to the conference, sent from the Archbishop to the Archbishop of York.

Our Archbishop knew the great abilities in divinity of his brother Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York: and since he could not come up himself in person, he transmitted to him certain *queries* of divers matters that would be concerted at this conference, for his learned judgment and resolution of them, in order to the use to be made of them at that time. Which queries were these, *viz.* I. Concerning *appropriations:* whether they were to be given over to the Ministers of the Gospel, or might continue in the hands where they were. II. As touching the government of the Church in this kingdom under his Majesty: whether by Bishops or by Presbyteries. III. Concerning the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments: whether to overthrow the said book, or to make alterations of things disliked in it. IV. Concerning the sign of the cross in the child's forehead made at its baptism. V. Concerning praying in the Litany to be delivered from *sudden death;* since we ought so to live, that death should never find us unprepared. That Archbishop's excellent and learned answers to all these at large may be found in the Appendix, as they were kindly communicated to me by Ralph Thoresby of Leeds, Esq. being found among the MSS. of the Reverend Mr. Fairfax, sometime Chaplain to Toby Matthew, Bishop of Durham. After he had given his thoughts of all these questions, he thus piously, and with a great concern for the good of this Church, concluded with his prayers.

N°. XLIV.

His prayer for the King and Church.

"The Lord for his Christ's sake bless his Majesty with "his manifold graces, that he may maintain the Gospel in "this Church, as his dear sister Queen Elizabeth did leave "it: and that, as in his golden book to the Prince his son "doth show his dislike both of superstitious Papists and "giddy-headed Puritans, so God may give him courage

" and constancy to withstand them both; that neither the " Papists may obtain their hoped toleration, nor the Pu- " ritans their fantastical platform of their reformation." This was written Oct. 3. 1 Jacobi. Some part of this Archbishop's letter, *viz.* concerning baptism by women, was alleged before the King at the conference by the Bishop of Worcester.

Anno 1603.

Matthew, Bishop of Durham, was now going up to the conference. To him he signified in a letter two days before, that he was preparing these papers to be sent up to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that his Chancellor should communicate them to him, when he was in the south parts. His letter, being short, I here insert: the rather to shew the apprehensions that the Bishops then had of the dangerous condition of the Church under a new King, and the projects of the Puritans.

Bishop of Durham going up to the conference.

" *Salutem in Christo.* I thank your Lordship, &c. The " fantastical giddy-headed Puritans, I perceive, have la- " boured earnestly, and are very eager, that they may be " heard, &c. I do not yet know their plots, nor the par- " ticulars of their petitions; but may conjecture and aim " at their meaning; and am writing somewhat, but very " briefly, to my Lord's Grace of Canterbury against them: " wherewith I mean your Lordship shall be acquainted by " my Chancellor at your being in the south parts, if not " before. The Lord bless you and the rest of our brethren " in this intended conference. That his most excellent " Majesty may long continue settled (as I doubt not but " he is, as most worthy Queen Elizabeth was) to advance 571 " the Gospel, and maintain the ecclesiastical government " in this land. And thus with many well-wishings to your " Lordship, &c. I bid you very heartily farewell. From " Bishopthorp, the first of October, 1603.

" Your Lordship's assured loving friend and brother,

" Matth. Ebor."

The Archbishop of York's letter to the Bishop of Durham about the conference. MSS. Ra. Thoresby.

January the 14th came on this famous conference, (the

The conference comes on.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

King being now returned home to Hampton Court,) and held three days, *viz.* the 14th, the 16th, and the 18th: which his excellent Majesty had with our Archbishop, and divers other Bishops and eminent Deans, and with some chief Divines on the other side: at which most of the Lords of the Privy Council were also present. And this being the last thing memorable, wherein our Archbishop was concerned, I shall give some brief account of the contents of what he spake and did: and the rather also, to take off an aspersion thrown upon him. For presently, when the meeting was scarce over, it was reported, (and copies thereof were dispersed,) that the Archbishop and Bishops of London and Winchester fell down on their knees to the King, and desired that all things might remain as they were, lest the Papists might think they had been in an error hitherto, and might say, they would persuade them to come to a Church having errors in it: and lest the Puritans should allege, they had been long persecuted unjustly. And further, that the last day of this conference, the Archbishop had been entreated to be a means, that the ceremonies might not be pressed, and that he should answer, they had been urged as necessary, and should be so still. And that at last the Archbishop and Bishop of London [as almost despairing of their cause] besought his Majesty to take their cause into his own hand, and to make some good end of it, as might stand with their credit. But that the very truth might appear, there was an authentic relation of it written by one of the Divines then present, *viz.* Barlow, Dean of Chester: and that by the Archbishop's own order, imposing this work upon him: which therefore we may conclude was carefully reviewed by himself: and that it might be the more exact and complete, it was compared and enlarged by the writer, (before it was published,) with the notes and copies of the Bishop of London, the Deans of Christ's Church, Winchester, and Windsor, and the Archdeacon of Nottingham.

The Archbishop misreported.

The King opens the conference;

To this conference were summoned by letters eight Bishops besides the Archbishop, six Deans of cathedral

churches, besides the Dean of the King's chapel, two Doctors of Divinity, and one Archdeacon: and those that appeared for the Puritans were four, *viz.* Dr. Reynolds, Dr. Sparks, Mr. Knewstubs, and Mr. Chaderton; who were termed agents for the Millenaries; that is, (as they pretended,) a thousand persons, chiefly Ministers, that had in a late petition to the King, under their hands, accused many practices of the Church of England, and cried out for a disputation. These were also sent for by the King, as the most grave, learned, and modest of the aggrieved party. Being all met, the King desired himself to be satisfied (favourably so expressed in behalf of the Puritans) concerning the Book of Common Prayer; excommunication in the ecclesiastical courts; and for providing fit and able Ministers for Ireland. In the Book of Common Prayer, he required satisfaction about confirmation, absolution, and private baptism. For *excommunication*, he offered two things to be considered, *viz.* 1. The *matters*, viz. whether it were executed in light causes; and whether it were not used too often. 2. The *persons*, viz. why lay-persons, as Chancellors and Commissaries, should do it; and why the Bishops themselves, for the dignity of so weighty a censure, should not do it, taking unto them the Dean and Chapter, or other Ministers and Chaplains of gravity and account. The last, for Ireland, he referred to a consultation.

CHAP. XXXI.

Anno 1603.

desiring to be satisfied in certain points.

After the King had ended his speech, the Archbishop made his on his knee, to this purport: "How much the "whole land was bound to God for setting so wise, so "learned, and judicious a King over it." And then addressed himself to inform his Majesty of all the foresaid points. As first, "concerning *confirmation*, he shewed at large "the antiquity of it; as being used in the Catholic Church "ever since the Apostles' time, till that of late some parti- "cular Churches had unadvisedly rejected it. He then de- "clared the lawful use of it, agreeable to his Majesty's "speech. Affirming it to be a mere calumniation and a "very untrue suggestion, if any had informed his Highness, "that the Church of England did hold or teach, that with-

The Archbishop's speech of those heads distinctly before the King.

572

Confirmation.

BOOK IV. Anno 1603.

"out confirmation, Baptism was imperfect; or that it did "add any thing to the virtue or substance thereof." And this he made manifest by the rubrics in the Communion Book, set before *Confirmation:* which were there read. Then the Bishop of London and other Bishops spake also in proof of *confirmation*.

Absolution.

Then for the point of *absolution;* which the Archbishop cleared from all abuse and superstition, as it was used in the Church of England, reading unto his Majesty both the Confession in the beginning of the Communion Book, and the Absolution following it. "Wherein," said he, "the Min- "ister doth nothing else but pronounce an absolution in "general." The King perused both in the book itself, liked and approved them, finding it to be very true which the Archbishop had said. And as to that particular and *personal* form of absolution, prescribed to be used in the Visitation of the Sick, (which the Bishop of London thought fit then also to acquaint the King with, shewing how agreeable it was to the Confessions of Augsburgh and other Protestant Churches, and approved of by Calvin; who liked of the private as well as the general:) the said *particular* absolution in the book being read to him, he exceedingly well approved it.

Private baptism.

Then for *private baptism*, (the third thing that had been propounded by the King to be considered,) the Archbishop again first spake of it, and shewed, "that administration "of baptism by women and lay-persons was not allowed "in the practice of the Church: but that it was inquir- "ed of by Bishops in their visitations, and censured. "And that the words in the book inferred not any such "meaning, *viz.* as the allowance thereof." Whereunto the King excepted, pressing the words of the book, that they could not but intend a permission and suffering of women and private persons to baptize. To which when Babington, the Bishop of Worcester, had said, The words indeed were doubtful, and might be pressed to that meaning; but yet that it seemed by the contrary practice of our Church, (censuring women in this case,) that the compilers

of the book did not so much intend them, but propounded them ambiguously, that the book might the better pass in Parliament; and for this he cited the testimony of the Archbishop of York. The Bishop of London then replied, (speaking, as it seems, the Archbishop's sense, and which he would have said, had he not been intercepted by the King,) denying that those learned and reverend men, that framed the Book of Common Prayer, intended by ambiguous terms to deceive any: but did indeed by those words intend a permission of private persons to baptize in case of necessity: whereof, he said, their letters were witnesses: some parts whereof he then read; [and pity it is they were not set down at length in the printed relation;] and withal declared the same to be agreeable to the practice of the ancient Church. Urging to that purpose both Acts ii. where three thousand were baptized in one day; which for the Apostles alone to do was impossible, at least improbable; and that there were then with them no Bishops nor Priests, [to assist in that work;] and also alleged the authority of Tertullian and St. Ambrose, plain in that point. He laid open also the absurdities and impieties of the opinion of them, who thought there was no necessity of baptism. Not as if God without baptism could not save the child; but that the case put, that the state of the infant dying unbaptized was uncertain; and dying baptized, there was an evident assurance that it was saved; he asked, who, having any religion in him, would not speedily by any means procure his child to be baptized; and rather ground the action upon Christ's promise, than his omission thereof upon God's secret judgment?

The Bishop of London's discourse on this head;

Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, spake also to this point his opinion, *viz.* that the denying to private persons baptism in case of necessity, would be to cross all antiquity; seeing it had been the ancient and common practice of the Church, when Ministers could not be got: and that it was a rule agreed upon among Divines, that *the Minister was not of the essence of the sacrament.* But the result was, that the King, however he asserted Baptism to be administered

573

And the Bishop of Winton's.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

by lawful Ministers, and in no case by private persons, yet he utterly disliked all rebaptization, although either women or laics had baptized. This day's conference ended with the article of *excommunication:* which was soon agreed, and some regulation thereof easily yielded unto on all sides.

The second day the Archbishop seems not to have been present: but Bancroft, Bishop of London, spake much, and (as it is very likely) his Grace's sense: which I pass over, because I mean herein to relate nothing but wherein our Archbishop spake or was concerned.

The third day's conference was January 18, when such were present as pleased the Archbishop to appoint; for so was the King's pleasure. By his order therefore, I conclude, came several of the Doctors of the Arches, Knts. *viz.* Sir Dan. Dun, Sir Tho. Crumpton, Sir Richard Swale, Sir John Bennet, and Dr. Drury, the ecclesiastical courts being then to be justified. The Archbishop now, as soon as the King was set, presented unto him a note of some points which his Majesty had referred to their consideration on the first day; and the alteration, or rather explanation of them, in the Liturgy, *viz.* I. *Absolution, or remission of sins*, in the Rubric of Absolution. II. In private baptism, *the lawful Minister present.* III. *Examination, with confirmation of children.* IV. *Jesus said to them*, twice to be put into the dominical Gospels, instead of *Jesus said to his disciples.* Which last reading had been objected to by the other party, as not truly taken out of the text in the New Testament. This was all the alteration made.

Ecclesiastical courts.

Then the King fell upon discourse of the *high commission.* That he had understood that the parties named therein were too many and too mean: that the matters they dealt in were base, and such as Ordinaries at home in their courts might censure: that the branches granted out by the Bishops in their several dioceses were too frequent and large. To which the Archbishop answered severally: "First, for the number of such as were in com- "mission, that it was requisite it should be great; for

High commission.

The Archbishop's discourse thereof.

" otherwise he must be forced, as often times then it fell " out, to sit alone. And therefore, albeit all the Lords of " the Privy Council were in, all the Bishops, many of the " Judges at law, and some of the Clerks of the Council; " yet there were very few or none of them sitting with him " at ordinary times: some of meaner place, as Deans and " Doctors of Divinity and Law, must needs be put in; " whose attendance he might with more authority com- " mand and expect. Secondly, for the matters handled " therein, he said, he had often complained thereof. But " that it could not be remedied. Because although the " fault might be of that nature, as that the ordinary juris- " diction might censure it: but eftsoons it fell out, that " the party delinquent was too great: and so the Ordinary " dared not proceed against him. And so mighty in his " state, and so wilful in his contumacy, that he would not " obey the summons or censure. And so it came to pass " that the Ordinary was forced to crave help at the high " commission. To the third, his Grace said, that it con- " cerned not him to make answer thereunto. For such " commissions had been granted against his will oftentimes, " and without his knowledge for the most part." Discourse thus falling about such commissions granted to Bishops for their particular dioceses, one of the Lords present was pleased to say, that the proceeding thereby was like the Spanish inquisition, wherein men were urged to subscribe more than law required; that by the oath *ex officio*, they were enforced to accuse themselves: that they were examined upon twenty or four and twenty articles, and that upon the sudden, without deliberation, and for the most part against themselves. For the evidence where- of a letter was shewed of an ancient honourable Counsellor, written to the Lord Archbishop anno 1584, [*viz.* Lord Treasurer Burghley,] of two Ministers of Cambridgeshire, then or thereabouts, examined upon many articles, and in the end deprived. To which the Archbishop, in a thing so closely touching himself, as well as that course of proceeding, made this answer: " That first, to the matter in

Vide book III. chap. vii.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

" the manner of proceeding and examining, his Lordship " was deceived. For that if any article did touch the " party any way, either for life, liberty, or scandal, he " might refuse to answer: neither was he urged thereunto. " Secondly, To the letter being in a cause twenty years " since determined, he could not answer to particulars; " but that if his answer to that letter were found out, he " doubted not but as it had satisfied that honourable Coun- " sellor, when he lived, so it would also sufficiently clear " this complaint before his Majesty." See both these letters, namely that of the Lord Treasurer to the Archbishop, and of the Archbishop in answer thereunto, under the year 1584, chap. vii.

I relate only what fell from the Archbishop in this conference. What the Bishop of London said, and what the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Treasurer said in behalf of the said oath *ex officio*, and, lastly, what the King himself added, I refer to the printed conference: wherein he so soundly described that oath, for the ground thereof, for the wisdom of the law therein, and the manner of proceeding thereby, and lastly, the necessity and profitable effect thereof; and that by him delivered in such a compendious and absolute order, that the Lords and the rest of the auditors stood amazed; and the Archbishop said, " that undoubtedly " his Majesty spake by the especial assistance of God's Spi- " rit." And the Bishop of London, upon his knee, protested, that his heart melted within him (and so, he doubted not, did the hearts of the whole company) with joy, and made haste to acknowledge to Almighty God the singular mercy received at his hands, in giving them such a King, &c. Whereunto the Lords with one voice yielded a very affectionate acclamation.

The speech of the Archbishop and Bishop of London concerning the King.

Some matters to be reformed, committed by the King to the Archbishop and Bishops to be consulted of.

And then the King committed to the Archbishop, with the Bishops and Lords present, several matters to be by them consulted of: as, excommunication in causes of less moment; the high commission, for the quality of the persons to be nominated, and the causes to be handled; recusant communicants, *i. e.* such as came to church, but

not to the Communion; also, for the sending and appointing of preachers for Ireland, and for some parts of Wales and the northern borders: and lastly, about sufficient maintenance for the Clergy, and for the planting a learned and painful Minister in every parish.

Indulgence requested of the King for surplice and cross in Baptism.

When the conference grew towards an end, and the King had also made a gracious speech to the Puritan Ministers, Mr. Chaderton kneeled to the King for some indulgence to some honest, godly, and painful Ministers, (especially in Lancashire,) for wearing the surplice, and the use of the cross in Baptism; lest many that they had won from Popery, might revolt again. And instanced in the Vicar of Rattesdale. An unlucky chance it was, to light on the mention of him above the rest. Who not many years before was proved before our Archbishop to have most unreverently dealt the bread in the Eucharist out of a basket, every man putting in his hand, and taking out a piece. And so the Archbishop then testified. Then Knewstubs also fell down, and requested the like favour of forbearance for some honest Ministers in Suffolk. And added, that it would make much against their credits in that country, to be now forced to the surplice and cross in Baptism. To which his Grace was going to answer concerning these men, whom he had some time ago before him, (and so would have related their cause at large, and the weakness of their reasons,) but the King prevented him, by telling Knewstubs that he shewed himself an uncharitable man, in that they, having taken pains, and in the end concluded of an unity and uniformity, he should prefer the credit of a few private persons before the general peace of the Church.

Account of the conference sent by the Bishop of Durham to the Archbishop of York.

The substance of the aforesaid conference was drawn up (as was shewn before) by one of the Divines present at it, with the consent and assistance of the rest, and printed for public satisfaction. But for further information of so remarkable an emergence about the state of religion in this Church of England at this critical time, I shall bring to light a notable account thereof, written by one of the Bi-

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603. 575

shops there, *viz.* the Bishop of Durham, and sent to the Archbishop of York. It is a transcript from the first draught of his letter written with his own hand, as appears by the interlineations. Endorsed thus, *The* 19. *Jan.* 1603, [which was the day after the conference was ended,] *Copy of my letter to my Lord's Grace of York, touching the conference at the Court.* For this I am likewise beholden to Mr. Thoresby of Leeds. See this choice paper in the Appendix.

N°. XLV.

The King's account of this conference in a private letter.

I shall conclude this long relation with a familiar account the King himself gave of this conference and of these men; in a letter to some intimate friend of his in Scotland, whom he styled his *Honest Blake.* "Wherein "among other things relating to his affairs in Scotland, he "spake of his *keeping a revel* with the Puritans [meaning "this conference] this two days, such as was never heard "the like. And that he had peppered them, as he (to "whom he writ) had done the Papists there. That it "was no reason that they that would refuse the airy sign "of the cross after Baptism, should have their purses "stuffed with more solid and substantial crosses. That "[as for his discourses with them] they fled him from ar- "gument to argument, and never answered him directly. "So that he was forced to say unto them at last, that if "any of them had been in a college, disputing with their "scholars, and that any of their disciples had answered "them in that sort, they themselves would have snatched "him up, in place of a reply, with a rod. And in the end "added, that he had a book of theirs [whether it were the "*petition*, signed with abundance of hands, or some other "book presented now to him] that might well convert in- "fidels, but should never convert him, unless in turning "him more earnestly against them." But I leave the whole letter in the Appendix for him that listeth to read it.

N°. XLVI.

The sum of what was concluded at this conference will appear in this following authentic paper; which seems to be the hand of the Bishop of London.

CHAP. XXXI.

A note of such thinges as shal be reformed in the Church. Anno 1603.

1. The *Absolution* shal be called, The Absolution or general Remyssion of Sins.

2. The *Confirmation* shal be called, The Confirmation or furder Examination of Children's Faith.

3. The *Private Baptism*, now by laymen or women, shall be called, The Private Baptisme by the Ministers only; and all those questions in that Baptisme, that insinuate it to be don by women, taken awaye.

4. The *Apocrypha*, that hath some repugnancy to the canonical Scripture, shall not be read; and other places chosen, which either are explanations of Scripture, or suite best for good life and manners.

5. The *jurisdiction* of the Bishops shal be somewhat limited, and to have either the Dean and Chapter, or som grave Minister assistant to them in *ordination*, *suspension*, *degradation*, &c.

6. The *excommunication*, as it is nowe used, shal be taken awaye both in name and nature. And a writ out of the Chancerie, to punishe the *contumacies*, shal be framed.

7. The kingdom of Ireland, the borders of Scotland, and all Wales, to be planted with schools and preachers as soon as maye be.

8. As manie learned Ministers, and maintenance for them, to be provided in such places of England, where there is want, as maye be.

9. As few *double-beneficed* men and *pluralities* as may be; and those that have double benefices to maintain preachers, and to have their livings as neere as may be one to the other.

10. One uniform *translation* of the Bible to be made, and onelye to be used in all the churches of Englande.

11. One *Catechisme* to be made and used in all places.

12. The *Articles of Religion* to be explaned and inlardged. And no man to teach or read against anie of them.

13. A care had, to observe who do not receave the Communion once in the year: the Ministers to certifie the Bi-

BOOK IV.

shops, the Bishop the Archbishops, and the Archbishops the Kinge.

Anno 1603. 576

14. An inhibition for Popish books to be brought over: and if anie come, to be delivered into their hands onelye that are fitt to have them.

15. The *highe commission* to be reformed, and reduced to higher causes and fewer persons; and those of more honour and better qualities.

In short, this conference, wherein the King bore so great a part, and spake so well, and shewed openly such approbation of the present constitution of the Church, proved a good stay to it, and its customs and practices, quieting for a time any further clamours and disputes. And "matters were well calmed by his good moderation, if no after-tempest arose;" as one of that King's Chaplains told him a month or two after, in a book dedicated to him.

Fabric of the Church and Churchmen. By Will. Tooker, D. D.

CHAP. XXXII.

Commissions to the Archbishop and other Bishops, and certain Lords of the Privy Council, for regulation of matters of the Church; pursuant to the conference. The Archbishop falls sick. His disease. His Christian departure. His character. Buried at Croyden. Traduced by a libel. The author of it censured in the Star-chamber. His monument. Epitaphs. Two new Bishops consecrated. His gifts. Books in MS. given to Trinity college.

Consultations pursuant to the late conference by commissions.

NOW, to understand further what was done after the conference, to render it of use to the Church, and to correct what was indeed found amiss, and further to promote good order, Christian knowledge, and the service of God; there was a Memorial drawn up of some principal points to be considered of (according as the King had directed, upon the dissolving of the assembly) by the Lords of the Privy Council, and the Lords the Bishops, *concerning an*

order to be taken in some causes ecclesiastical, whereof the most are expressed in certain Articles contained in a Schedule remaining with the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. So it was entitled. And then follow the said *principal matters*, and the names of the particular Commissioners nominated to consider and adjust them. This paper was as followeth : CHAP. XXXII. Anno 1603.

" Some additions to be made to the Catechism, in point " of the Sacraments. And the same to be generally ob- " served in all churches. Cott. Libr. Cleopatra F. 2.

" In the Rubric, in *Private Baptism*, insert these words, " *to cause to be baptized*, &c.

" That consideration be had, what chapters, both of the " Apocrypha and canonical Scripture, are meetest to be " read in the churches.

" That care be taken, that one uniform translation of " the Bible be printed, and read in the church : and that " without any notes.

" That consideration be had, what number of Ministers " there are, where placed, how qualified, and how provided " for already : to the intent that better provision may be " where it is wanting ; and further provision for those that " have not competent maintenance. This to be certified to " the Archbishop of Canterbury, and by him to his Majesty, " for all within his province. And the like to be done " by the Archbishop of York, which he must send up to " my Lord of Canterbury, to be also shewed to his Majesty, " before the Parliament [sits.]

" Care to be taken of the ordinary proceedings of the " Chancellors, and all other officials ; and with what causes " they shall deal.

" *This is left to the care of the Bishops.* 577

" A letter for toleration for some short time to some Min- " isters that make scruple in Lancashire, in point of crosses " in Baptism and surplices only : to be written by my " Lord of Canterbury to the Bishop of Chester.

" Consideration to be had of the ecclesiastical commission

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

" in general, and of the particular commissions to be dis-
" tributed to particular dioceses.

" In the commission, power to call such Civilians, and
" such of the King's learned Council, as they shall think
" meet.

" A consideration, what process of coercion may be used
" in case of contumacy, instead of excommunication.

" *Commissioners.*

" Lord Archbishop of Can-	" Lord Chancellor,
" terbury,	" Lord Henry Howard,
" Bishop of London,	" Lord Chief Justice,
" Bishop of Durham,	" Lord of Kinlose,
" Bishop of Winchester,	" Mr. Secretary Harbert.

" The care of perusing and suppressing all books that are
" printed here without public authority, or are brought into
" the realm, to be referred to four Bishops, four Deans, four
" Civilians, and four common lawyers: in what sort they
" shall be permitted to be dispersed.

" *Commissioners.*

" *Bishops.*	" *Deans.*
" Lord Archbishop of Can-	" Of St. Paul's,
" terbury,	" Of Westminster,
" The Bishop of London,	" Of the Chapel,
" The Bishop of Winchester,	" Of Windsor.
" The Bishop of Chichester,	

" *Civilians.*	" *Common Lawyers.*
" Dr. Dunn,	" Mr. Solicitor,
" Dr. Perkins,	" Mr. Attorney,
" Dr. Stanhope,	" The Recorder of London.
" Dr. Swale.	

" *Commissioners appointed* " *for matters of the borders.*	" *Commissioners for Wales.*
" Their names.	" Their names.

" *Commissioners for Ireland.*

" All the Lords of the Privy " And five Bishops more."
" Council.

Here was excellent matter cut out, and wise and grave men, both of the spiritualty and temporalty, appointed to labour in the same, for the forwarding of good religion, pacifying complaints, and putting the affairs of the Church into an unblameable order. But as far as I can learn, not much was done herein. A great let to which good purposes might be the death of the Archbishop hastening soon after.

The Archbishop falls sick, by catching cold on the water.

He was not well in December last, but troubled with the jaundice; which, it seems, was his old distemper, as he wrote in his letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury, mentioned above; which (together with his age and the contagion) made him unfit to wait upon the King and Court abroad the last summer. But now, soon after the conference, going in his barge to Fulham, to meet with some Bishops and Judges of his courts, there to confer about the affairs of the Church, (saith the writer of his life,) it is likely, upon some of the aforesaid commissions, for consultations together; it being cold upon the water, and tempestuous weather, he got cold. And the next Sunday (being the first Sunday in Lent) went to Whitehall: where the King held long discourse with him and the Bishop of London, about the like affairs. And 578
going thence to the Council-chamber to dinner, after long fasting, he was taken with a fit, which ended in the dead palsy on the right side, and his speech taken away. Whence he was carried to the Lord Treasurer's chamber: where he was for a while, and then conveyed home to Lambeth. Here on Tuesday he had the honour to be visited by the King. Who, out of his sense of the great need he should have of him at this particular juncture, (now he had laid such a scheme for reformation,) told him, " he " would pray to God for his life. And that if he could ob- " tain it, he should think it one of the greatest temporal " blessings that could be given him in this kingdom."

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

The Archbishop would have said something to the King, but his speech failed him; (whose last counsel to him, no doubt, would have been of very great moment and consequence, having had so long experience in the government of this Church.) So that he uttered only imperfect words. But so much of his speech was heard; repeating earnestly, with his eyes and hands lifted up, *pro Ecclesia Dei*. Whereby it was evident, that *God's Church*, here planted, lay next to his heart: and which, as the last words he spake, he recommended to the King's special regard and protection. And as he would have spoken his mind to the King, being present; so he made two or three attempts to write his mind to him: but by reason of the prevailing of his disease, (the pen falling out of his hand,) he could not.

Dies.

And the next day, being February 29, he quietly departed in the Lord.

Whether the Archbishop died of grief. Camd. Ann.

Whether grief was the cause of his death, or grief and fear for the good estate of the Church under a new King, and a Parliament approaching, mingling itself with his present sickness, might hasten his death, I know not: but an historian in those times makes such a memorial of the Archbishop's death; which I will set down in his words: *Dum de Liturgia recepta Rex contendere cœpit, et nonnulla in ea mutanda censuit, Archiepiscopus ex mœrore obiit: i. e.* "Whilst the King began to contend about the "Common Prayer received, and judged some things therein "fit to be altered, the Archbishop died with grief." Yet surely by what we have heard before related, in the King's management of the conference, and the letter he wrote himself to the Archbishop, he had better satisfaction of the King's mind. To which I may add, that there was a Directory drawn up by the Puritans, prepared to be offered to the next Parliament; which in all probability would have created a great deal of disturbance in the House, having many favourers there; which paper the aged Archbishop was privy to, and very apprehensive of. And therefore, according to another of our historians, upon his death-bed he should use these words: *Et nunc, Domine, exaltata est*

The Archbishop's saying on his death-

anima mea, quod in eo tempore succubui, quando mallem episcopatus mei Deo reddere rationem, quam inter homines exercere: i.e. "And now, O Lord, my soul is lifted up, that "I die in a time, wherein I had rather give up to God an "account of my bishopric, than any longer to exercise it "among men." Anno 1603. bed. Hist. of King James, by Sanderson.

His Chaplains always attended on him with their prayers and consolatory discourses, *viz.* Dr. Barlow, Dr. Buckridge, Dr. Benjamin Charior, (the two former soon after made Bishops,) and Sir George Paul, Comptroller of his household, who being with him in all his sickness, gave his testimony that he died like a lamb, a true servant of Jesus Christ, by many infallible proofs that he gave thereof to him and others then about him; which they took notice of. Great characters were given of him at that time by those that knew him. One of his Chaplains thus speaks of him: "With him is buried the famousest glory of our English "Church, and the most kind encourager of pains and "study. A man happy in his life and death: loved of the "best while he lived, and heard of God for his decease; "most earnestly desiring, not many days before he was "stroken, that he might not yet live to see this Parliament, "as near as it was." Thus did another historian (to whom he was a very good lord and patron) preserve his name to posterity: "A man born for the benefit of his country and "the good of the Church: wherein he ruled with such "moderation, as he continued in his Prince's favour all his "life: surprising [suppressing] such new sects as in his "time began to rise: as by his learned work of purpose 579 "written by him against such schisms does well appear. "Whose advancements for his good life and sincere man- "ners, in the University of Cambridge, and in the com- "monwealth, grew by these degrees, &c." His Christian departure and character. Epistle to the Reader, Conference at Hampton Court. Stow's Annals.

But especially I must not omit the lamentation of the Archbishop of York, and his deep sense of the loss the Church sustained in being deprived of him: which the Bishop of Durham, yet being in these southern parts, had given him the news of, together with other matters relat-

BOOK IV.

ing to the Church. In the said Archbishop's answer, he thus expressed his grief:

Anno 1603.

The Archbishop of York's letter upon the news of Archbishop Whitgift's death. MSS. Ra. Thoresby of Leeds.

"That his woful letter of the heavy news of the death "of that most reverend and worthy Archbishop came too "too soon. That many, no doubt, might and did lament, "that his Majesty had lost a faithful good counsellor, the "Church a great and notable pillar and patron, and himself "also had special cause to sorrow for the want of such an "ancient, constant, and dear friend. That it was a singular "comfort and encouragement to them all, that his High-"ness vouchsafed so graciously to visit him, wherein, as in "many other excellent virtues and things, he did imitate "his late dear sister, worthy Queen Elizabeth: who did "alway bear and shew a special good affection toward him. "And then prayed God to move his Majesty's royal and "religious heart (the sooner the better) to make special "choice of one to succeed him. And he thought his Lord-"ship (the Bishop of Durham or Winchester) was like to "have the place," &c. This was dated from Bishopthorp, the 7th of March, 1603. The whole letter (wherein are some other things of weight mentioned) may deserve to be placed among the other papers of note.

No. XLVII.

Fuller's Ecclesiastical Hist.

To all which I may join the words of a later Church historian, speaking of our Archbishop, "the worthiest man "that ever the English hierarchy did enjoy."

Buried at Croyden.

His corpse was carried to Croyden, (where he had founded a lasting monument of his right Christian charity,) and there honourably interred in the parish church, March the 27th, 1604, with a decent solemnity, two noblemen, that had formerly been his pupils, mourners, and carrying his banners; *viz.* the Earl of Worcester and Lord Zouch: and Dr. Babington, Bishop of Worcester, another of his *quondam* pupils at Trinity college, preaching at his funeral; taking for his text those words recorded of a great and good high priest, 2 Chron. xxiv. 15, 16. *Jehoiadah waxed old and full of days, and died, &c. And they buried him in the city of David, because he had done good in Israel, and towards God and his house.* Where, by comparing

His funeral sermon.

our good Archbishop with that good high priest, he gave himself opportunity to shew how much good he had done in our Israel, and towards God and his house. He lived and died in great reputation; and particularly happy in being highly esteemed for his wisdom, learning, and piety, by both his Sovereigns, Queen Elizabeth and King James. Who both consulted with him in all matters of the Church, and in making laws and orders for the well governing of it: and likewise in taking always his advice for proper men to be placed in the chief preferments of it. And who, seeing the great danger of the overthrow of the religion happily reformed at first, *viz.* of the doctrine of it by Papists, and the discipline and constitution of it by the new reformers, devoted himself, his pains, his studies, his learning, his interest, to the preserving of it, wherein he had success to the end of his days, though through much opposition.

Anno 1603.

His character.

Which was the cause that he underwent a great deal of defamation, rude treatment, and scurrilous language, from the latter sort especially, not only by word of mouth, but in print: which he bore with an invincible patience: and that, not only in his life, but after he was dead, and laid in his grave; which kind of speaking we hold both undecent and unchristian. One instance whereof may deserve to be here related. No sooner was the Archbishop dead, but he was lampooned and libelled (together with the living Archbishop his successor) by one Lewis Pickring, who had been of Emanuel college. But the high court of Star-chamber would not suffer the fame of so great and venerable a person to be so unworthily handled. The cause was brought into that court by the King's Attorney General, 3. Jacob. Pasch. for composing and publishing an infamous libel in metre, by which John, late Archbishop of Canterbury, *qui fuit un Prelat de singuler piété, gravité, et science*, (as the words of the indictment ran,) now dead, by descriptions and circumlocutions; and likewise Richard, the now Archbishop of Canterbury, were both of them traduced and scandalized. In this case it was resolved, "First, that every libel, which is called *famosus libellus*,

Libelled by one L. Pickring.

Vindicated in the Star-chamber.

580

Coke's Rep. lib. v. de Libell. famos. p. 125.

BOOK IV. Anno 1603.

" *seu infamatoria scriptura,* is done either against a private man, or against a magistrate or public person. That if it were against a private person, it deserved a severe punishment. For although the libel were made against but one, yet it incited all of the same family, kindred, or society, to revenge. And so by consequence it tended to quarrels, to the breach of peace: and hence it might be the cause of effusion of blood, and of great inconvenience. But if it were towards a magistrate, or other public person, that was a great offence. For that it concerned not only the breach of the peace, but the scandal of the government. For what greater scandal of the government can be, than that corrupt and wicked magistrates be appointed and constituted by the King, to govern his subjects under him? And a greater imputation could not be, than to permit such corrupt men to sit in the sacred seat of justice."

And because it seems it was pleaded in excuse, that the Archbishop was dead, against whom the libel was made, it was said, " that although the private man or magistrate was dead at the time of making the libel, yet it was punishable. For in the one case, it provoked nevertheless others of the same family, blood, and society, to revenge, and to break the peace. And in the other the libeller introduced and slandered the State and government; which never died. And so it was adjudged, that the defamer was liable to punishment by fine or imprisonment: and that if the case were exorbitant, by the pillory, and the loss of his ears." Which of these censures Pickring underwent, I find not. But it is to be remarked, that in this trial the Archbishop had very great and deserved praises given him by the great Lords that then sat, as the writer of his life sheweth, *viz.* " That much was spoken by their Lordships in that great and judicious court, of his piety, wisdom, learning, and government." Their particular speeches are not recorded, only what the Earl of Salisbury said, " that there was nothing more to be feared in his government, especially towards his latter time,

Sir Geo. Paul's Life of Whitg. p. 80.

" than his mildness and clemency. Pregnant instances " whereof were, his earnest solicitations to the Queen " for the pardoning of Udal, and others condemned to die " for their sedition: and for the dismission of Cartwright " and divers other contentious Ministers from the Star- " chamber. And divers other gentlemen had the like fa- " vour obtained for them, and pardoned from both fine and " imprisonment, (as Sir Richard Knightly, Mr. Hales, " Mr. Wigston,) for entertaining the presses and printers " of most malicious virulent books, secretly printed and " dispersed."

Anno 1603.

His monument and effigies.

There is a fair monument set up for him in Croyden church, in the south aisle, by the wall, with his effigies in his gown and tippet, lying along; his hands together in the posture of praying, but now partly broken off. It sheweth a very grave sedate countenance. His beard black, hanging a little lower than his chin, and broad at the end. The hair also black on the cheeks by the ears. The monument is made much after the model of the monument of his predecessor Archbishop Grindal; only this appears in scarlet, that of Whitgift in his black gown.

The monumental inscription made by Dr. Charior.

One of his Chaplains took the pains, in gratitude to his patron, in an epitaph, to deliver the whole course of his preferments and honours, with the place of his birth and education, parentage, age, and benefactions, in elegant Latin heroic verse, for the preserving of which in print we are beholden to Mr. Stow, and is yet remaining on his monument; beginning,

Whitgifta Eiborum Grimesbeia ad littora nomen
Whitgifti emisit, felix hoc nomine Grimesbey, &c.

581 N°.XLVIII.

I refer the reader to the Appendix for the rest. At the conclusion of this *epicedium* is subscribed, *B. C. Capellanus*. He was Dr. Benjamin Charior, or Carier, one of his domestics, that attended at the Archbishop's last sickness, and afterwards elected one of the first Fellows of Chelsey college; and (let me add) my predecessor in the rectory of West Terring in Sussex, collated thereunto by this his patron in the year 1602. But I am sorry I must add some-

BOOK IV.

what more of his character, to his reproach and lasting dishonour: namely, that being born of a Clergyman of this Church, baptized and bred up in the communion thereof, educated in Corpus Christi college in the University of Cambridge, living long in the family of our Archbishop, and having obtained several good preferments, (and, besides those mentioned before, was a Prebendary of Canterbury,) he basely at last turned apostate, and went off in his latter days to the Church of Rome.

Anno 1603. Dr. Carier, one of the Archbishop's Chaplains, is reconciled to the Church of Rome.

This Carier, or Charior, was preferred, after the Archbishop's death, by King James to be his Chaplain, and frequently preached before him, and stood fair for greater preferments, as his contemporaries and Fellow-chaplains to the said Archbishop, Dr. Andrews, Dr. Bancroft, Dr. Barlow, Dr. Buckridge, had obtained. But he met with some repulse; (and that by reason of some suspicion that began to be had of his sincerity;) this gave him discontent, being of an aspiring spirit, and esteeming not a little his own merits. At length, about the year 1613, having leave of his master, King James, he privately conveyed himself to the Spaw, to use the waters there, upon pretence of his want of health. But being gotten thither, he declared himself a renegado to his religion which he had so long professed, and was reconciled to Rome. But not presently shewed it. For Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, suspecting him, being now gone into those parts where Popery prevailed, to be in danger of backsliding, received a letter from him, dated Aug. 17, 1613, professing therein, that he neither was nor ever would be wholly reconciled to the Church of Rome. And yet, but a week after, *viz.* August 23, he wrote a letter to Isaac Casaubon, then in England, offering therein a proposal or scheme of reconcilement of this Church of England to Popery, (and that by good authority, as he pretended,) for him to shew to the King. Which that learned man utterly refused to do; thus answering his demand, "That he had read with care the "writing which he sent, and which he desired him to "shew the King. But that he refused to comply with

The occasion thereof.

Dr. Hakewill's answer to Carier's letter to King James.

Legi accuratè scriptum quod misisti, quodque ut

" his desire in that behalf; for that it was clearly and cer- CHAP. XXXII.
" tainly evident to him, that that writing would turn to
" his great disadvantage, should it come to the King's Anno 1603.
" hands, [meaning, that it would hinder his further prefer- Regi ostendam à me petis; ego vero, &c. Int. Ep. Casaubon.
" ment.] He added, that his Majesty indeed wished the
" peace of the Church, and would purchase at a great price
" concord between disagreeing parties; but that his Ma-
" jesty would never be brought by any conditions to enter
" into society with that Church: which being deformed
" with so many horrid depravations, applauded itself never-
" theless, and said, *I am fair, and there is no wrinkle in*
" *me.* He further bade him but think what the doings at
" Rome at that day were: how that by all kind of frauds,
" impieties, parricides, that monstrous Papal omnipotency
" was labouring to be built up: how books were written
" and published at Rome in defence of Garnet, [the Jesuit
" and traitor deeply concerned in the gunpowder plot,] and
" they such books, which even the Parliament at Paris
" caused to be burnt by the hands of the hangman, &c.
" That the Pope was not to be brought to equal terms.
" And that when Protestants opened their grievances to
" that most cruel tyrant, Phalaris did but laugh, and
" promised himself, that all our affairs would in a short
" time utterly fall. And that he, from what he had read in
" their writings, and from what he had observed in their
" doings, was persuaded they did err *toto cœlo*, who expected
" any thing else from Popes than superstition, treachery,
" slaughters, rapines. And lastly, he admonished Carier,
" according to that friendship and respects he had for him,
" that he most diligently again and again took heed, that
" that writing of his fell not into the hands of any of the
" Bishops; because therein he aimed, that the Pope's
" authority might be restored in this kingdom: whereby,
" he said, his own fortunes no doubt would be brought
" into great danger," [meaning his preferments would be stopped in this Church by their means.]

Yet notwithstanding all these arguments and friendly 582
dissuasions given him by that learned man, Carier, to merit

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603. His letter to King James, to unite this Church with Rome.

of that cause, presumed the next year to write to the King himself a long letter, on two heads, declaring his reasons of his embracing that Church, and then endeavouring to persuade him, to bring over the Church of England, forsooth, into union to that of Rome; promising the King, as having good assurance thereof, that hereby he should be a very prosperous and glorious King, much more than he was at that present: and that the Common Prayer should remain to be used in English as it was before, only with some small alteration. But the wise King abhorred his motion; after he had before publicly made ample declaration to the world in print against Popery, and in behalf of the supremacy of Kings in their own dominions, and his assurance given of owning and adhering to the religion established.

Answered by Dr. Hakewil.

This letter, though written to the King alone, was soon after printed and published to the world; but was full and learnedly answered (as it seems by the King's own directions and order) by Dr. George Hakewil's book, being entitled, *An Answer to Dr. Carier's Letter to King James; wherein he lays down sundry politic considerations; by which he pretendeth himself first moved, and endeavoureth to move others to be reconciled to the Church of Rome, and embrace the religion which he calleth Catholic. Answered by George Hakewil, D. D. and Chaplain to the Prince his Highness. Imprinted at London by John Bill*, 1616. Which book the author dedicated unto the said King James; shewing therein the reason of this his undertaking: "that had this letter of Dr. Carier been imparted, "or the drift of it only reached to his Majesty, it would "have deserved none other answer than his Majesty's pri- "vate censure, and might well have been buried in silence "with the author of it: but now that it not only aimeth in "particular at all the members of the body politic, first the "nobles, then the commons, and lastly the Clergy, [for "Carier's letter propounded golden promises to them all, "upon the union with Rome, as well as to the King him- "self,] but withal was published to the view of the world

" ... spread through all the quarters of the land, and was " not a little magnified by the Romish faction; it must " needs argue in them either want of wisdom in preventing " a mischief, or of power of providing for our own safety, " or of zeal and sincerity in our love to the truth, if it " should pass without some discovery, &c. That the main " end it drove at, was either a total reconcilement to the " Church of Rome, or, if that could not be, a partial tolera- " tion of the Romish religion."

Carier's letter strives to divide the members of the Church of England;

And it deserveth a remark what Dr. Hakewil added concerning the general means whereby Carier in his letter strove to compass the aforesaid end; that one of his great means was to divide the Church, by distinguishing the Puritans in it from the Protestants, that is, " by working a " distinction even among those his Majesty's subjects, " who every way conformed themselves as well to the " doctrine as the discipline of the Church of England, " established by public allowance, in making some Puritans " and some Protestants: and these latter such, who, in " his language, could endure the state of the Church of " England as it is, but yet could be content it were as it " was, [that is, before it was reformed,] implying thereby " the rest of the Church of England to be all Puritans. " That some of this Church were *Calvinists*, and some *tem-* " *perate* men, [as he called them,] who could not but in " justice approve the truth of that religion which he called " *Catholic;* thereby implying the rest to be *Calvinists*. " The one he termed *the greatest enemies of the Clergy*, " the other his *honest and loving brethren:* whereof he " professed that he knew many, and himself to be one. " Whereas in truth, (as Dr. Hakewil subjoined,) if any " such there were, the difference should rather have been " made between *Protestants* and *Papists*, *English* and *Ro-* " *man* Catholics. Since they who could be content the " Church of England were as it was before the Reformation, " could in his judgment be none other but Papists: and " that those that in their judgments approved the doctrine " of the pretended Catholic religion, could (as far as he

Chap. ii. §. 41. and §. 45.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

" apprehended it) be none other than *Roman* Catholics. " Thus those whom we, said he, call *Papists*, he calleth " *temperate Protestants:* and those whom we call *Pro-* " *testants*, he calleth *State-Puritans*."

583 And this was one great means this backslider laboured to promote his purpose, to bring this Church again under the yoke of Rome. To which I shall add his second general means to compass his said desired end, (which I the rather set down, as being the very craft and method still used among us by that apostate Church,) " which," as Dr. Hakewil likewise observed, " was an endeavour to work an ut- " ter separation between our Church and other reformed " Churches; especially those of France and the Nether- " lands. Whom therefore in contempt he called Hugonots " and Gueux, [the very names given them by their enemies, " the Papists in France,] and their doctrine Calvinism. In- " tending thereby, as he conceived, either to weaken our " strength, by leaving us to stand single, or, which was " worse, to enforce us at length to relapse upon Rome. " And to this purpose, (as Dr. Hakewil added,) Carier was " bold to affirm, that their doctrine [namely, those of the " foreign reformed Churches] made as much against the " religion of England as that of Rome. Whereas (as " the same learned man proceeds) the writings of the " most learned men, as well on their as on our side, our " *harmonies* of confession, the testimonies of our adversa- " ries, nay, the Pope himself, in his bull against Queen Eli- " zabeth, his Majesty's book, and his late practice in match- " ing of that noble lady his daughter, and in permitting " those Churches the free exercise of their religion within " his dominions, did so plainly evince the contrary, that he " wondered, having let fall so foul a blot from his pen, he " durst present it to his Majesty's view."

And to separate this Church from the Protestant Churches abroad.

King James's declaration in favour of foreign Protestants.

And in the margin he quoted a passage or two out of the King's Declaration, *touchant le faict de Conrad Vorstius:* viz. *la charité que nous portons aux sieurs estats, nos voisins et confederex faisants profession de la mesme religion avecques nous.* And again, *Messieurs les estats doncques,*

estants non seulement nos allies, mais le principal lien de nostre conjunction, estant nostre uniformité en la vraye religion, &c. Defence du Droit des Roys, p. 82.

Carier's end.

This Carier (to conclude with his end) died obscurely soon after the writing his second letter, in one of the colleges of the Jesuits in Flanders. I have recorded all this above of this man, not only because he was sometime the Archbishop's domestic, but to follow the method I have usually taken in this work, *viz.* to give accounts and characters of persons of note that have fallen in my way to mention; whose memories, and some historical matters of remark depending on them, might otherwise be lost and buried.

The Archbishop, Carier's old master, his judgment of Calvin.

To all this I cannot but add one passage, wherein the answerer put the apostate in mind of the Archbishop, *his old master*, as he called him, giving him a rebuke on his account, in regard of his reproaching of Calvin and his writings, and suggesting I know not what great dangers to the Church and State from them. "Must it needs be," saith he, "that all who embrace his [Calvin's] pains and learning in "those *Institutions*, intend the subversion of the State, or "presently contemn the doctrine of the Church of England? "Your old master, Archbishop Whitgift, was of another "mind: who maintained to his utmost the doctrine of the "Church of England, and yet gave he Calvin his due also: "labouring always, when any occasion was offered, to coun- "tenance his own writings with Calvin's authority. And "especially out of that book which you most dislike; "yielding him the title of a *famous and learned man*. "Nay, even in the use of things indifferent, he gives this "testimony of his judgment and moderation: 'If master Tract.ii.c.4. "Calvin were alive, said he, and right understood the state "of our Church and controversy, truly I verily believe he "would condemn your doings. And I am the rather in- "duced to think so, because I understand him to have al- "lowed many things in the English Church, being at Ge- "neva, which you also [speaking to Cartwright and the "Disciplinarians] dislike.'"

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603. His archiepiscopal seal broken.

March 1, the day next after the Archbishop's death, between eight and nine in the morning, in the chamber called *the waiting chamber*, in the house of him the late Archbishop, within the manor of Lambeth, his archiepiscopal seal was broken with an hammer in three pieces; so that from henceforth it was altogether unfit to seal any instrument withal; done in the presence of Richard Bishop of London, Charles Fotherby Archdeacon of Canterbury, George Paul, Gent. and others.

Confirmation of Thornborough Bishop of Bristol.

584 This last year of his life was John Thornborough, late Bishop of Limerick in Ireland, confirmed Bishop and Pastor of the cathedral church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, in Bristol, July 12, 1603. 1 Jacob. in the church or chancel of Putney, in the county of Surrey, and deanery of Croyden.

John Bridges, S. T. P. Dean of Sarum, was created Bishop and Pastor of the Church of Christ, Oxon, Friday the 10th of February, 1603. 1 Jacob. And consecrated February 12. following, being Sunday, in the chapel at Lambeth, by the Archbishop, Richard Bishop of London, John Bishop of Rochester, Toby Bishop of Durham, and Anthony Bishop of Chichester, assisting. Which was the last Bishop he laid his hands upon.

Books given by the Archbishop to colleges.

The Archbishop's gifts and memorials of his respects to the colleges to which he had belonged, *viz.* to Peter house, Pembroke hall, and Trinity college, ought here to be remembered. What he gave to the first hath been shewn before. To Pembroke hall, where he was Master, he gave the Complutentian Bible, in three volumes in folio; which he left in the hands of Dr. Andrews, sometime Master of the college, and his Chaplain, for the use of the college. The books are still in the college library, with the arms of the church of Canterbury impaled with Whitgift's on the covers, and divided into five tomes, as they stand now.

To Trinity college, besides other things, he gave a great number of MSS. books; consisting of Bibles, or particular books and parts thereof, fathers, schoolmen, glossaries, commentaries, decrees, canons, legends, postils, historians,

epistles, tracts, prayers, &c. I lay the catalogue of them in the Appendix, as they were carefully and with much pains taken by the Reverend Mr. Knight of that college, and kindly sent to me.

CHAP. XXXII.

Anno 1603. N°. XLIX.

And thus, by the favour and assistance of God, I have given a faithful and impartial account of the affairs and emergencies of this excellent apostolical Church of England, (as far as I could by long search into records, &c. attain to the knowledge thereof,) under the wise administration of three painful, learned, and godly Archbishops, throughout the whole reign of Queen Elizabeth, and somewhat after the access of King James I. to the throne. Whereof Whitgift, as he was the last and longest in the government of this metropolitical see, so he left this Church, notwithstanding mighty opposition, in the good estate and condition it was at first most happily reformed.

585

CHAP. XXXIII.

The King sets forth two proclamations in favour of the Church of England; viz. one against Papists; the other against such as refused the Liturgy. And therein is shewn what was done about it at the conference. The Council's letter to the Archbishop of York. And his to the Lord Cranbourn, concerning the Puritans and Papists. A new translation of the Bible in hand with; one of the things resolved upon at the conference. The King's letter to the Bishop of London about it. That Bishop's letters to the Bishops thereupon. Measures to be taken for the translators. The conclusion.

YET let me add one chapter more, to take some view, how the affairs of religion stood with relation to the aforesaid conference; and how the King proceeded the ensuing year.

After the aforesaid conference, whereby the King became fully satisfied in the public worship and usages of this

The King sets forth a proclamation against Priests and Jesuits.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

Church, he set forth two proclamations in favour of it, shewing his resolution to maintain the religion thereof as he found it, against the two factions, enemies to it, *viz.* the Papists on the one hand, and the Disciplinarians on the other: in both which proclamations the King took notice of his own presence at that conference, and of his well weighing the practices of the English Church, by the matters examined and concerted there.

In the former proclamation, which came forth Feb. 22. he declared, "how, since his coming into this realm, he "had spent time in settling the politic affairs thereof: and "of late had bestowed no small labour in composing cer- "tain differences he found amongst his Clergy about rites "and ceremonies, heretofore established in this Church; "and that he had reduced them to such an order and form, "as he doubted not but every spirit that was led only with "piety, and not with humour, would be therein satisfied. "And that it appeared unto him in debating those matters, "that a greater contagion to our religion, than could pro- "ceed from those light differences, was imminent by per- "sons, common enemies to them both, namely, the great "number of Priests, both Seminaries and Jesuits, abound- "ing in the realm, &c. who did with great audacity exer- "cise offices of their profession, by saying masses, persuad- "ing his subjects from the religion established, and recon- "ciling them to the Church of Rome. And by consequence "seducing them from the true persuasion which all subjects "ought to have of their duty and obedience to the King, &c. "Wherefore, in short, he commanded all of them to avoid "the realm before the 19th day of March next."

Another proclamation for the use of the Common Prayer, as explained at the conference.

The other proclamation (that bore date the 5th of March following) for authorizing an *Uniformity of the Book of Common Prayer to be used throughout the realm*, was levelled against the Puritans, and such as were for a new discipline, different from that established. This came forth a little before the Parliament met, to prevent, it seems, their spending time (which the good Archbishop feared so much) in finding fault with the constitution of the Church, and of

things pretended to be amiss in it. Which proclamation, declaring so fully the King's mind and resolution, and that with respect unto the conference, I shall set down. It was to this tenor: Anno 1603.

"That although it could not be unknown to his subjects "by the former declarations he had published, what his pur- "poses and proceedings had been in matters of religion "since his coming to this Crown; yet, the same being now 586 "by him reduced to a settled form, he had occasion to re- "peat somewhat of that which had passed; and how at his "very first entry into the realm, being entertained and im- "portuned with information of sundry Ministers, complain- "ing of the errors and imperfections of the Church here, "as well in matter of doctrine as of discipline; although he "had no reason to presume that things were so far amiss "as it was pretended; because he had seen the kingdom "under that form of religion, which by law was established "in the days of the late Queen of famous memory, blessed "with a peace and prosperity, both extraordinary, and of "many years continuance; (a strong evidence that God was "therewith well pleased:) yet because the importunity of "the complainers was great, their affirmations vehement, "and the zeal wherewith the same did seem to be accom- "panied very specious, he was moved thereby to make it "his occasion to discharge that duty, which was the chief- "est of all kingly duties; that is, to settle the affairs of re- "ligion, and the service of God, before their own.

"But that while he was in hand to do this, the contagion "of the sickness, remaining in the City and other places, "would not permit an assembly of persons meet for that "purpose. And that some who misliked the state of reli- "gion here established, presuming more of his intents than "he gave them cause to do, and transported with humour, "began such proceedings as did rather raise a scandal in "the Church, than take offence away. That they used "forms of public serving of God, not here allowed; held "assemblies without authority; did other things, carrying "a very apparent shew of sedition, more than of zeal:

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

" whom he had restrained by a proclamation in October " last; and gave intimations of the conference he intended " to be had with as much speed as conveniently could be, " for the redressing of these things in the Church.

" Which followed in the month of January last, at his " Honour of Hampton Court. Where before himself were " assembled many of the greatest Bishops and Prelates of " the realm; and many other learned men, as well of those " that were conformable to the state of the Church esta- " blished, as of those that dissented. Among whom, what " his pains were, what his patience in hearing and replying, " and what the indifferency and uprightness of his judg- " ment in determining, he left to the report of those who " heard the same, contenting himself with the sincerity of " his own heart therein. But he could not conceal, that the " success of that conference was such as happened to many " other things, which moving great expectation before they " be entered into their issue, produce small effect. For that " he found, he said, more and vehement informations, sup- " ported with so weak and slender proofs, as it appeared " unto him and his Council, that there was no cause why " any change should have been at all, in that which was " most impugned, the Book of Common Prayer, containing " the form of the public service of God here established; " neither in the *doctrine*, which appeared to be sincere, nor " in the *forms* and *rites*, which were justified out of the " practice of the primitive Church.

" That notwithstanding he thought meet, with the con- " sent of the Bishops, and other learned men there present, " that some small things might rather be explained than " changed. And that the same might, and very well had " been borne with, by men who would have made a reason- " able construction of them. But that in a matter con- " cerning the service of God, he [the King] was nice, or ra- " ther jealous, that the public form thereof should be free, " not only from blame, but from suspicion; so as neither " the common adversary should have advantage to wrest " ought therein contained to other sense than the Church

" of England intended, or any troublesome or ignorant per-
" son of this Church be able to take the least occasion of
" cavil against it: that for that purpose he gave forth his
" commission, under his Great Seal of England, to the
" Archbishop of Canterbury and others, according to the
" form which the laws of this realm in like case prescribed
" to be used, to make the said *explanation;* and to cause
" the whole Book of Common Prayer, with the said expla-
" nation, to be newly printed.

" Which being now done and established anew, after so 587
" serious a deliberation, although he doubted not but all
" his subjects, both Ministers and others, would receive the
" same with such reverence as appertained, and conform
" themselves thereunto, every man in that which him con-
" cerned: yet had he thought it necessary to make known
" by proclamation his authorizing of the same; and to re-
" quire and enjoin all men, as well ecclesiastical as tempo-
" ral, to conform themselves unto it, and to the practice
" thereof, as the only public form of serving God, esta-
" blished and allowed to be in this realm. And the rather
" for that all the learned men who were there present, as
" well of the Bishops as others, promised their conformity in
" the practice of it only; making suit to him, that some
" few might be borne with for a time.

" Wherefore he [the King] required all Archbishops, Bi-
" shops, and all other public Ministers, as well ecclesiasti-
" cal as civil, to do their duties in causing the same to be
" obeyed, and punishing offenders according to the laws of
" the realm heretofore established, for the authorizing of
" the said Book of Common Prayer. And that he thought
" it necessary that the said Archbishops and Bishops do
" each of them, in his province and diocese, take order, that
" every parish should procure to themselves, within such
" time as they shall think good to limit, one of the said
" books so explained.

And last of all he admonished all men, " that hereafter
" they should not expect nor attempt any further alteration
" in the public form of God's service from this which was

BOOK IV.

Anno 1603.

" now established. For that neither would he give way to " any to presume that his own judgment, having determin- " ed in a matter of this weight, should be swayed to al- " teration by the frivolous suggestions of any light spirit; " neither was he ignorant of the inconveniences that did " arise in government by admitting innovation in things " once settled by mature deliberation; and how necessary " it was to use constancy in the upholding of the public de- " terminations of states. For that such was the unquiet- " ness and unsteadiness of some dispositions, affecting every " year new forms of things, as, if they should be followed in " their unconstancy, would make all actions of state ridicu- " lous and contemptible. Whereas the stedfast maintain- " ing of things, by good advice established, was the weal of " all commonwealths. Given at the King's palace at West- " minster, the 5th day of March."

The King's command to the Bishops concerning their Clergy.

It was about two or three months before these proclamations came forth, that the King thought fit that all the Bishops in their several dioceses should proceed with their respective Clergy; that none of them should officiate in the Church, nor continue in their places, that would not observe the rules and orders prescribed in the public Liturgy: and further, that caution should be given, that none other but such as were so conformable should hereafter be admitted into any benefice void, however presented by the patrons: and also that they should be persons of virtue and learning. For this purpose and intent, by the King's command, Secretary Cecil, Lord Cranborne, with divers others of the Privy Council, despatched letters to Hutton, Archbishop of York, (as no question the like were sent to the other province of Canterbury,) to take care of his own diocese: and that he should signify the King's pleasure in that behalf to the Bishops of his province.

The Archbishop of York's answer concerning Puritans and Papists.

The answer which the said Archbishop sent back to the Lord Cranborne, dated Decemb. 18, 1604, was remarkable, being to this tenor: " That he had written to the " three Bishops of his province, and in their absence to " their Chancellors, to have a special care of this service;

" and had sent copies to them of their honourable letters; " and that he would take present order with his own dio- " cese."

But that grave and godly Prelate had observed, to his concern and trouble, " that while the State was thus dili- " gent in suppressing the Puritans, the Papists, especially " in those northern parts, were closely employed in fur- " thering their designs, and the less regard was had of 588 " them. And by some extraordinary favour, they were " grown mighty in number, courage, and insolency. That " the Puritans, whose fantastical zeal he misliked, though " they differed in ceremonies and accidents, yet they agreed " with us in substance of religion; and he thought all, or " most of them, loved his Majesty and the present State, " and he hoped would yield to conformity: but the Papists " were opposite and contrary in the very substantial points " of religion, and could not but wish the Pope's authority " and Popish religion to be established. He assured " that Lord, that it was high time to look to them. And " that very many of them were gone from all places to " London: and that some were come back again in great " jollity, and almost in triumph." He added, [as it were between hope and fear, as to his Majesty's inclinations] " that as he had been brought up in the Gospel, and un- " derstood religion excellently well, so he would, no doubt, " protect, maintain, and advance it. So that if the Gospel " should quail, and Popery prevail, it would be imputed " principally to them, the great Counsellors, who either " procured or yielded to grant toleration to some, &c." And then applying to the Lord to whom he writ all this; " My good Lord Cranborne, let me put you in mind, that " you was born and brought up in true religion: your wor- " thy father was a worthy instrument to banish superstition " and advance the Gospel. Imitate him in this service " especially." Thus earnestly, like a wise and careful father of the Church, he wrote his mind on this occasion to the Court: and, " that he wished with all his heart, that the " like orders were given to them, the Bishops, and to the

BOOK IV.

Anno 1604.

" civil magistrates too, and Justices of the peace, to proceed " against Papists and Recusants; wondering also that the " sending an ecclesiastical commission into those parts (so " much needed) had been so long delayed: and how the " Papists gave out it was no more to be renewed." And then adding some particular advice against the King's wasting the treasure of the realm, &c. he concluded his seasonable letter. With which I shall also close the Appendix.

Number L.

A Convocation summoned.

But now to go a little backwards; The King, together with his first Parliament, called a Convocation of the Clergy; that so all matters of the Church (if any things were wanting) might be settled. The writ bore date the 31st of January, 1603, directed to the Archbishop, to summon the Clergy to meet together at St. Paul's or elsewhere, as he should think it most convenient, the 20th day of March following; to treat, consent, and conclude upon certain difficult and urgent affairs mentioned in the said writ. But the Archbishop being deceased before that time, the King sent out another writ to the Bishop of London, dated the 9th of March, authorized, appointed, and constituted, by reason of the Archbishop's death, President of the said Convocation; to execute those things, which by virtue of the first writ did appertain to the Archbishop to have executed, had he lived. When there were agreed and concluded upon, with the King's Majesty's licence, Constitutions and Canons to the number of one hundred and forty-one, according as by the said Convocation was thought necessary and fit for the honour and service of Almighty God, the good and quiet of the Church, and the better government thereof, and confirmed and ratified by the King's special command. Which writ of ratification is prefixed before those printed Constitutions. And matters herein took the better effect, by virtue of the Bishop of London, an active and resolute man, being President of this Convocation.

Constitutions and Canons made.

The King's letters to the Bishop of London for a new

In the vacation of the archbishopric, all business incumbent upon the Archbishop fell under his hand. And letters from the King and Council for Church matters were di-

rected to him. The King had resolved to have a review, or a new translation, of the Holy Bible, according as it was moved at the beforesaid conference, and concluded upon.

Anno 1604.

translation of the Bible.

The Archbishop not forward in a new translation. And why.

The Archbishop indeed had formerly shewn some backwardness towards a new translation; and so had the Bishop of London: but it was for fear of some slur that might have been by this means thrown upon the other translation, done under Archbishop Parker; which was called the *Bishops' Bible*, because many of the Bishops, as well as some other learned Divines, were employed in it: 589 and that with much labour, learning, caution, and exact comparing of originals: and all more carefully revised by the aforesaid Archbishop. It was feared therefore that hereby an occasion might be given to the enemies of our religion, the Papists, of discrediting our common English Bible and of the doctrines that were founded on it, and weaken the reputation of that former translation then used in the churches; especially if such persons were employed in this work of translating anew, that should affect many alterations and different readings from the former, more than needed. Of which sort was the great linguist, Mr. Broughton; whose mind the Archbishop knew full well, having divers years before condemned that translation, charging it with a great number of errors undeservedly, and treated very rudely those grave and learned Bishops that were employed in it, as though they had translated it from the Latin, and wanted sufficient skill. The said Broughton had once also reported, how Dr. Stallard had told Archbishop Whitgift of two great courtiers, that, finding our Bishops' errors, [meaning in their Bible,] had disputed against all religion. And in a letter this learned man had the confidence lately to write to the King, he had these words; "That all this "while the Bishops were unwilling their traps and pitfalls "should be taken away, [as he called the old translation "done by the Bishops, very irreverently,] until his Majesty "forced them to it." But such a prejudiced person to the Bishops' Bible, and so stiff and conceited as he was, was

BOOK IV.

thought not fit (however by these calumniations he endeavoured it) to have a hand in this intended new translation.

Anno 1604. Which being therefore resolved upon, he was none of the number appointed to this work: the King, as it is very probable, being prevailed upon to lay him aside. And very wisely to appoint this to be the first rule to be observed in translating, that the ordinary Bible, read in the church, commonly called the *Bishops' Bible*, should be followed, and as little altered as the truth of the original would permit.

Bishop Sar. Hist. Refor. Collect. Rec. p. 368. vol. ii.

Mr. Broughton's directions in translating, sent to the King.

And here the said Mr. Broughton, upon this good purpose of the King, took upon him to propound to his Majesty directions and rules how to proceed therein; and they of such strictness and learning, that the King must needs make use of him, and could do nothing without him, as he seemed to think. In one of his letters he told him, "that "his Highness had begun a royal work, in commanding "that a good translation of the Bible should be made, if "with equal care and authority his Highness required all "that learning could do to be performed, and saw it done. "And then this one book would match, he said, whole li- "braries for all books, (except the original Bible,) as the "Pope's library, the French King's, the Palatine, the Ba- "varian, with that of Augsburgh. Adding, that all would "not profit so much as one translation from exquisite learn- "ing, care, and furniture." And then directing how it should be gone upon, "That many should translate a part. "And when they had brought a good English style, and "the true sense, a new labour others should take to "make an uniformity [*i. e.* that divers words might not be "used where the original word was the same; that so the "whole translation might agree.] And that if seventy-two "persons were set to translate, in memory of the ancient "seventy-two Greek translators; and many to try how "uniformity was kept; and after all, one qualified for dif- "ficulties [meaning, as it seems, himself] should run "through the whole work, and should read upon the "places of difficulty, in Gresham college, to be judged of

" all men; and after all, should print from Hebrews and " Greeks, notes of his strength; and in all the realm, even " Papists should have for the first impression (made for a " trial) free speech; it would be a mighty help to un- " derstand the Hebrew and Greek Testaments, and win " great credit among nations near us. He added, that it " was very needful, that many others [mechanics and arti- " ficers] should be likewise at such a work, &c. embroider- " ers should help for terms about Aaron's ephod: geome- " tricians, carpenters, masons, about the temple of Solo- " mon and Ezekiel: gardeners, for all the boughs and " branches of Ezekiel's tree; to match the variety of the " Hebrew terms." Anno 1604.

But notwithstanding this learned man's letter and ad- 590
vices, the King took his own measures in this great work; and resolved upon fifty-four persons to be employed therein: and that they, that should take their shares in such a labour, should have encouragement by ecclesiastical preferments in the Church: requiring all the Bishops to reserve their next preferments that were 20*l.* per annum in the King's books for them, according as he should think fit to dispose of them, and to whom. For so the King's letter to the Bishop ran:

The King's letter to the Bishop of London concerning the translators of the Bible. Regist. Whitg. fol. 155. b.

" Right trusty and welbeloved, wee greet you wel. " Wheras wee have appointed certain learned men, to the " number of fifty-four, for the translating of the Bible, and " that in this number divers of them have either no eccle- " siastical preferment at al, or else so very smal as the " same is far unmeet for men of their desert: and yet we " of our selves in any convenient time cannot wel remedy " it: therefore we do hartily require you, that presently " you write in our name, as wel to the Archbishop of York, " as to the rest of the Bishops of the province of Can- " terbury; signifying unto them, that we do wil and " straitly charge every one of them, as also the other Bi- " shops of the province of York, as they tender our good " favour towards them, that, al excuses set apart, when a " prebend or parsonage being rated in our book of taxation,

BOOK IV.

Anno 1604.

" the prebend to 20*l.* at the least, and parsonage to the " like sum and upwards, shal next upon any occasion hap- " pen to be voyd, to be either of their patronage and gift, or " the like parsonage so voyd to be of the patronage and " gift of any person whatsoever, they do make stay ther- " of, and admit none unto it, until certifying us of the avoid- " ance of it, and of the name of the patron, (if it be not of " their own gift,) we may commend to the same some of " the learned men as we shal think fit to be preferred unto " it: not doubting of the Bishops' readines to satisfy us " herein, or that any one of the laity, when we shal in time " move them to so good and religious an act, wil be un- " willing to give us the like contentment and satisfaction: " we our selves having taken the same order for such pre- " bends and benefices as shal be void in our gift.

" What wee write to you of others, you must apply it to " your self: as also not to forget to move the said Archbi- " shop, and al Bishops, with their Deans and Chapters, as " touching the other point to be imparted otherwise by you " unto them. [And what that was wil appear by the Bi- " shop's letter, by and by to follow.]

" Furthermore, we require you to move al our Bishops, " to inform themselves of al such learned men within their " several dioceses, as, having special skil in the Hebrew and " Greek tongues, have taken pains in their private stu- " dies of the Scriptures, for the clearing of any obscurities " either in the Hebrew or in the Greek: or touching any " difficulties or mistakings in the former English transla- " tion; which we have now commanded to be throughly " viewed and amended. And therupon to write unto them, " earnestly charging them, and signifying our plesure ther- " in: that they send such their observations, either to Mr. " Lively, our Hebrew reader in Cambridge, or to Dr. Har- " ding, our Hebrew Reader in Oxford, or to Dr. Andrews, " Dean of Westminster, to be imparted to the rest of their " several companions. That so our said intended transla- " tion may have the help and furtherance of al our principal " learned men within this our kingdom. Given under our

" signet at our palace of Westminster, the 22d of July, in " the second year of our reign of England, &c. and of " Scotland the 37th."

The Bishop of London's letter to the rest of the Bishops. Regist. Whitg.

In obedience hereunto the Bishop of London imparted the King's plesure (exemplifying the letter) to the rest of the Bishops of the realm; shewing them by his letters, " how careful his Majesty was for the providing of living " for these learned men; and therefore he doubted not, " but that their Lordships would have a due regard of his " Majesty's request herein, as was fit and meet. And that " they would take such order, both with their Chancellors, " Registers, and such their officers, who should have intel- " ligence of the premises, as also with the Deans and Chap- " ters of their cathedral churches; whom his Majesty like- " wise required to be put in mind of his pleasure herein. 591 " Not forgetting the latter part of his Majesty's letter, " touching the informing themselves of the fittest linguists " within their dioceses, for to perform and speedily to re- " turn that which his Majesty was so careful to have faith- " fully performed.

" That he [the Bishop of London] wished their Lordships " would, for his discharge, return him, in some few lines, the " time of the receipt of his letters: that he might discharge " that duty which his Majesty by his letters had laid upon " him. And so he bade their Lordships right heartily fare- " well. From Fulham, the 31st of July, 1604. Subscrib- " ing himself,

" Their loving friend and brother,

" Ric. London."

The charges of the translators to be borne by the Bishops, Deans, and Chapters.

Concerning that obscure point in the King's letter, which he left to the Bishop of London to impart himself to the rest of the Bishops, he thought fit to write this postscript; " That as touching that clause in his Majesty's letter which " was referred to his [the Bishop's] relation, it was this. " That there were many, as their Lordships perceived, who " were to be employed in this translating of the Bible; and " that sundry of them must of necessity have their charges " borne, which his Majesty was very ready of his most

BOOK IV.

Anno 1604.

" princely disposition to have borne; but that some of the " Lords (as things then went) held it inconvenient. Where- " upon it was left to him [the Bishop] to move all his bre- " thren, the Bishops, and likewise every several Dean and " Chapter, to contribute towards this work. That there- " fore, according to his duty, he heartily prayed their Lord- " ships, not only to think themselves what was meet for " them to give for this purpose; but likewise to acquaint " their Deans and Chapters not only with the said clause of " his Majesty's letter, but likewise with the meaning of it; " that they might agree upon such a sum as they meant to " contribute. He added, that he did not think a thousand " marks would finish the work, to be employed as it was " aforesaid. Whereof their Lordships, with their Deans and " Chapters, having due consideration, he must require them, " he said, in his Majesty's name, according to his good plea- " sure in that behalf, that, as soon as possibly they could, " they would send him word what should be expected from " them and their said Deans and Chapters. For that he " was to acquaint his Majesty with every man's liberality " towards this godly work.

" And thus, not doubting of their special care of the ac- " complishing of the premises, and desiring their Lordships " to note the date to him of their receipt of these his " letters, he committed their Lordships unto the tuition of " Almighty God."

The conclusion.

I have now at length, by the good hand of God, brought this history of another most excellent Archbishop of Canterbury to an end, collected with no small labour and industry, and with as much impartiality and faithfulness, out of great variety of ancient records and writings. I shall wind up all in a brief character of that great Prelate and the Queen his mistress, and of the state of the nation, both in respect of religion and prosperity, by their influences; taken out of two authors of account in this last year of the Archbishop's life. " Many and excellent were the blessings " which it pleased Almighty God to bestow upon this na- " tion by the ministry of his chosen servant our late Sove-

Epist. dedicat. to the answ. of the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford.

" reign. Yet none of them were comparable unto these; *viz.* Anno 1604.
" the purity of religion, perpetually supported by one uni-
" form, most ancient kind of commendable Church govern-
" ment, plenty of all manner of good learning, abundantly
" derived from the two wellsprings thereof, into all parts
" both of the Church and commonwealth. For the conti-
" nuance both of them and the rest, it was her wise and
" happy care, to select and take near unto her, successively,
" men of rare endowments and personal gifts; men of deep
" judgment, long experience, great moderation, loving learn-
" ing, and fearing God. Whom therefore she did place in
" chiefest authority under her. That under her they might 592
" be the greatest comfort to the ministry, the better en-
" couragement unto learning, and the more noble counte-
" nance to religion, and (as the prophet speaketh) *set as* Psal. xxi. 6.
" *blessings to the whole land.*"

To which I add the words of another grave and learned divine and writer: " I have often with myself thought, " that the greatest riches, and most to be valued, which our " late Sovereign left unto his princely Majesty, [King " James,] with the lawful inheritance of this kingdom, was " a learned and devout Clergy, a wise and religious Council, " an honourable and ancient nobility, valiant and discreet " leaders, rich and loving citizens, painful and diligent hus-" bandmen; in one word, a people, not in any virtue infe-" rior to any nation of the earth; and for loyalty and obe-" dience, be it spoken without envy, above them all." Dr. Covel's epist. dedicat. to his book against the Plea for the Innocent.

And particularly, what esteem was had of this great Counsellor and Minister of the Queen's in the affairs of the Church, will appear by the same writer. Who addressed himself to him in these words: " What benefit this Church " hath received by your Grace's means, God blessing your " counsel under the government of two great Princes, " [Queen Elizabeth and King James,] as this present age " doth sensibly perceive, so the memory thereof shall be " honourable in the time to come. For when that virtuous " government of our late Sovereign had banished from all " parts of her kingdom the tyranny and superstition of the Ubi supra.

BOOK IV.

Anno 1604.

" Church of Rome, &c. some laboured by means over vio-
" lent and unholy to bring in a Presbyterian discipline, &c.
" At this time your Lordship undertook the defence of this
" Church government against them, (*viz.* those that were
" impatient of that form of government which mercy and
" wisdom had planted for the Church's safety.) Wherein
" doubtless, if your great wisdom and moderation had not,
" like another Athanasius, endured the fury and rage of this
" unbridled multitude, we might justly have feared that dis-
" order and barbarism should have tyrannously possessed
" long since the worthiest and most beautiful parts of our
" whole land. And as doubtless it is happy for the Church,
" that you undertook by writing the defence of this cause,
" (seeing no man could have done it either better, or with
" less exception,) the adversaries having received the first
" and greatest wound from your pen; so the day of your
" admission to the see of Canterbury is, and was, in all
" likelihood, next unto our late Sovereign, the forciblest
" means and best security this Church then could hope for
" to procure her peace. Neither can the Clergy of this land,
" but in duty and thankfulness, offer up continually their
" zealous and devout prayers, for all blessings to come down,
" and light and rest upon his sacred Majesty, and upon
" his royal posterity to many thousand generations, for
" those princely favours, which his Highness, extending to
" you, giveth, as undoubted assurance to all us, of the
" peace, prosperity, and happiness of this Church."

THE END OF VOL. II.